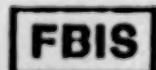


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12 JUNE 1986

# East Europe Report



FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

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12 JUNE 1986

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ECONOMY

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

TRADE BETWEEN SFRY, ALBANIA DECREASING

AU281414 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 11 Apr 86 p 6

[Text] Belgrade--The value of trade between the SFRY and the People's Socialist Republic of Albania in the period between 1981 and 1985 amounted to \$541.3 million, which represents 75 percent of the planned trade. This was announced at the last session of the Federal Economic Chamber's Section for Cooperation with Albania.

Trade with Albania has been decreasing since 1983. The value of trade between the two countries in 1985 was worth \$83.4 million or 69 percent of the planned trade (\$121 million), which is a reduction of 4 percent in relation to 1984. The value of Yugoslav exports was \$41.1 million and of imports \$42.3 million.

Due to the small volume of Albania's imports, or in other words, because of the Albanian position on balanced trade, Yugoslavia's exports were also reduced.

Last year the SFRY imported 450 million kilowatts of electric power worth around \$20 million. The agreement envisaged the import of 650 million kilowatts.

We also imported 135,000 tons of chromium ore and 2,300 tons of tobacco. These three products represent 78 percent of Yugoslav imports from Albania.

Yugoslav producers exported to Albania machines and equipment worth \$9.5 million, iron and steel products worth \$4.3 million, synthetics worth \$3.7 million, food products worth \$4 million, nonferrous metals and nonferrous products worth \$2 million.

According to the first reports, trade in 1986 has not been following the planned pace. Yugoslav businessmen have not been signing planned contracts for importing electric power, chromium, and tobacco because the price did not suit them.

It has been noticed that some Albanian businessmen are signing contracts to import larger quantities of some articles than they actually need and more than they will actually accept. So for example, contracts are signed with three Albanian firms to import 2,000 tons of washing soap although Albanian consumption of soap is about 800 tons. It looks like they are "hunting" low prices--the "expensive" contracts are simply not honored.

/12232

CSO: 2800/256

ECONOMY

BULGARIA

## ACHIEVEMENTS IN FOREIGN TRADE SURVEYED

### Foreign Trade Bolsters Economy

Sofia IKONOMICHESKI ZHIVOT in Bulgarian 26 Mar 86 p 8

[Article by Iliya Karakasheva, doctor of economic sciences: "A Stable Basis for Development"]

[Text] The contemporary major successes in Bulgarian foreign trade activities are to be credited to the creative spirit of the historic resolutions of the April 1956 plenum of the BKP [Bulgarian Communist Party]. This meeting made a critical analysis and evaluation of the "self-sufficiency" approach applied at the beginning of the 1950's, in conflict with the specific conditions existing for development of the national economy and the strategic interests of Bulgaria.

The radically new policy adopted by the BKP in April 1956 confidently guided the national economy along the path of accelerated construction of the material and technical basis for development of socialist society in Bulgaria. Conditions and incentives were created for varied and active participation by the Bulgarian People's Republic in socialist economic integration. Specialization in decisive sectors of material production has been accomplished on this basis, as have also a high degree of concentration of production capital and progressive qualitative changes in the industrial structure of the national economy.

The effect of the multilateral and bilateral agreements on specialization in production and cooperation within the framework of CEMA [Council on Economic Mutual Assistance] is a decisive condition for specialization by Bulgarian industry in the manufacture of around 800 types of articles in the sectors of mechanical engineering, electronics, electrical engineering, the chemical industry, and the food and tobacco industries. The marketing of these items depends on a stable market of increasing absorption capacity on a long-term basis. Of particular importance in achievement of the successes recorded is the general specialization and cooperation arrangement between Bulgaria and the USSR in the area of material production extending to 1990. All this has enabled a small country such as is Bulgaria to assume a leading place in the world in manufacture of a number of modern industrial products. Bulgarian industry today offers on international markets a broad spectrum of hoisting and materials handling equipment, metal-working machines, equipment for various sectors of industry, electronic and electrical engineering products,



industrial robots, program-controlled lathes, heavy construction equipment, etc. A new form of expression of the higher export capabilities of Bulgaria is represented by various kinds of engineering activities, export of computer equipment, technical assistance in various sectors, etc.

Bulgaria is currently one of the countries engaging the most intensive foreign economic activities. Since 1983 the relationship between national income and foreign trade in terms of value has been in favor of foreign trade, which in 1985 amounted to 27.7 billion foreign exchange leva. The fact that foreign trade is developing at a faster pace than national income convincingly and eloquently emphasizes the open nature of the Bulgarian economy.

The industrialization of Bulgaria, the accelerated development of agriculture, transportation, and communications, the concentration of investments, the broadening and strengthening of the materials and equipment base by means of universal intensification, all-round automation and mechanization, and exploitation of the accomplishments of scientific and technical progress have led to stability and dependability of the domestic market and to the capability of marketing complete sets of imported machinery and equipment, technologies, raw materials and intermediate products, engineering services, and other articles.

The radical restructuring of Bulgarian foreign trade that has taken place over the last 3 decades has created an objective foundation for subsequent expansion and enrichment of the export and import capabilities of the country, diversification of its territorial orientation, and flexibility in application of new and complex forms of selling on foreign markets. Industrial output of non-agricultural origin has firmly assumed first place in Bulgarian exports, rising from 48 percent in 1970 to 74.8 percent in 1985. The most marked progress has been made in sphere of machinery and equipment, which rose from 29.1 percent of Bulgarian exports in 1970 to 47.9 percent in 1985. The export quota for many items of machinery and equipment has come to exceed 50 percent of the total production of such items. For example, more than 90 percent of the output of electrically powered trucks, motor-trucks, and electric motors is earmarked for export, more than 80 percent of lathes, more than 75 percent of soda ash, more than 50 percent of telephone sets and nitrogen fertilizers, etc. Substantial changes have also taken place in the group of industrial commodities of agricultural origin, the share of which declined from 43.3 percent in 1970 to 21.7 percent in 1985, but the assortment structure of such commodities has been considerably upgraded and the degree of processing of produce has increased. The positive changes in the commodity structure of Bulgarian exports and imports eloquently confirm the correctness of the April policy of the BKP of renovating material and equipment resources through application of the most progressive world-level achievements of science and technology.

The extensive changes in the geographic orientation of Bulgarian foreign trade over the last 3 decades have been based above all on the principle of pursuit of a peace-loving foreign policy by the BKP and the government. This policy is aimed at development and strengthening of mutually advantageous political, economic, scientific-technical, and cultural relationships with other countries in the world. Bulgaria's consistent policy of peaceful coexistence and the progress made in development of the Bulgarian national economy have made it possible to establish lasting trade relations

with more than 110 countries throughout the world. Bulgaria's participation in socialist economic integration and the resulting high degree of specialization by Bulgarian industry and agriculture determine the fundamental position of the CEMA member countries in Bulgarian foreign trade. These countries accounted for 75.6 percent of this foreign trade in 1985. In first place with 56.3 percent is the USSR, from which our country obtains its most essential technologies, machinery and equipment, raw materials, and intermediate products and on whose markets a high percentage of mass-produced Bulgarian goods is sold.

Progress has also been made in Bulgarian foreign trade with developing countries, ( ) the level of 4100.4 million foreign exchange leva in 1985 as against 252.9 million foreign exchange leva in 1970. No less significant are the results associated with the positive changes that have taken place in the commodity list and the geographic orientation of foreign trade. Bulgaria maintains regular trade relations with 70 developing countries. A characteristic of Bulgarian exports to these countries is the relatively high share of machinery and equipment, complete production facilities, engineering consultancy services, and scientific and technical cooperation taking the form of dispatching of experts and specialists who assist in development of the respective national economies.

Bulgaria also maintains active trade relations with the developed capitalist countries. A significant factor in economic cooperation between Bulgaria and these countries is the dynamism of trade, irrespective of the complicated political problems of East-West cooperation. The forms of cooperation between Bulgarian economic organizations and capitalist firms are becoming increasingly varied and richer. They are cooperation in production, barter agreements, joint participation in engineering activities, establishment of joint enterprises, etc.

The organization and management factor is of extremely great importance for dynamic development of Bulgaria's foreign trade activities. Application of the economic approach and its mechanism for management of the economy, including the foreign economic activities of Bulgaria, is a powerful stimulant to the initiative of economic and foreign trade organizations toward linking production more closely linked to the needs of the market, increasing the role of the market concept of management of production activities, and further development and enrichment of the forms and methods of cooperation with foreign partners. Underlying this trend are the positive results achieved in development of the Bulgarian economy, science, and technology, as well as the innovative spirit of the April 1956 plenum and subsequent party forums dedicated to further improvement in the organizational and management structure of the national economy.



### Advanced Technology Exported

Sofia IKONOMICHESKI ZHIVOT in Bulgarian 26 Mar 86 p 9

[Article: "Bulgarian Technical Thinking is the Keynote: Our Industrial Innovations Applied in More Than 70 Countries"]

[Text] The exports of Bulgarian technical and technological innovations abroad offer convincing proof of the growth of Bulgaria as a developed industrial country. A talk between a representative of the editorial staff and management personnel of the Tekhnika foreign trade organization in Sofiya was devoted to this topic.

This talk with general director Petur Takov began with his statement that the organization is better known abroad than in Bulgaria. And he is right. Because of the specific nature of its activities, that is, the sale of Bulgarian licenses, know-how, patents, and trademarks on the international market and purchase of technical and technological innovations needed by Bulgarian industry on this market, this organization is really not well known to a large number of people in the country. But it tells specialists quite a bit: little Bulgaria, a backward country in the past, is now selling its industrial innovations in all the developed countries and is buying modern technologies for its industry from these countries. This is something that can be accomplished only by a developed industrial nation.

"We started from scratch, as they saying goes, 15 years ago," the director says. "And now we are receiving substantial foreign exchange earnings, which are of very great importance to the country, from the sale of Bulgarian licenses, know-how, patents, and trademarks. What is even more important, Bulgaria's potential in this regard is continuing to grow. And I may say that we are optimists."

Yes, the optimism is justified. There is a long list of Bulgarian technical innovations finding wide acceptance in the developed industrial countries. In the Federal Republic of Germany, for example, a joint Bulgarian-West German company produces and markets "Bulgarian electrodes" for the metallurgical industry. What is involved here? A method was developed in Bulgaria for protective coating of electrodes for blast furnaces to lengthen the service life of the electrodes. This achievement immediately attracted the attention of foreign specialists, and one company after another in such developed countries as England, France, Sweden, Spain, and the United States are hurrying to buy Bulgarian licenses. In the Federal Republic of Germany the preference was given to establishment of a joint company for manufacture and marketing of "Bulgarian electrodes." Representatives of Italy are also expressing interest in establishing a joint company. Interested Japanese and Canadian groups are negotiating to purchase the technology for applying the method.

Angelina Braykova of the License Export Administration also took part in the discussion. We hardly have space to record all that she told us, but we must give at least one example, that of a method of electrolytic refining of copper at high current density. The efficiency of the method has been given a high rating by specialists, and licenses and know-how for its application are being purchased by companies in the United States, Finland, Spain, Iran,

and other countries. The method of spinning and respinning yarn by means of a hollow spindle (Prenomit), is finding wide acceptance in the country with the oldest textile industry, England, and also in the Federal Republic of Germany and other countries. Bulgarian technology for thermal insulation of industrial furnaces is being bought by companies in the United States and the Federal Republic of Germany, and negotiations are currently in progress with Japanese representatives. It may be appropriate to round out this extremely short list with the Bulgarian technology of burning coal of low calorific value, which is virtually useless in other countries. As I was told during the conversation, this technology has already made its way out into the world; a Spanish company has been the first to purchase it. In view of its extremely great importance to power engineering, we can assume that it will enjoy a long life on the international market.

"There is no country in Europe which does not use Bulgarian licenses, know-how, patents, and trademarks," stated Petur Takov. "Our innovations are applied in more than 70 countries throughout the world, and our prospects are getting better and better. Every year new problems are solved in Bulgaria (at the world level, of course), and Bulgarian exports are constantly expanding. Hence our country is emerging as an increasingly active partner on the market of the highest quality in the world, the 'gray matter market'."

I should like to add to these concluding words that there are among the developed capitalist countries ones which are strongly opposed to "East-West" cooperation, which tendentiously assert that the exchange of technical and technological innovations between the developed western and the socialist countries has been a "one-way street," that is, that the socialist countries have made purchases without offering their innovations to the capitalist countries. But we see that little Bulgaria alone has fully refuted this lie.

#### Strides Made in Balcancar Exports

Sofia IKONOMICHESKI ZHIVOT in Bulgarian 26 Mar 86 p 9

[Article by Nacho Khalachev: "The Beginning and the Road to the Top"]

[Text] Perhaps you have never heard the name, so I will tell you that Tolga is a small village thousands of kilometers from Bulgaria, in the Algerian part of the Sahara Desert. It is renowned for producing some of the best dates in the world and for its date packing plant. Some of my associates and I were there, and experienced the pleasant surprise of finding a Balcancar power truck.

"Yes, it is your machine, made by Balcancar," we were smilingly told by the director of the enterprise, Mohamed Salah Halud, who had observed us staring at one of the trucks. "We have been using it for a long time now, and it has served us faithfully in use in all loading and loading operations. We haven't had any problems with it. It isn't capricious, and is easy to control and maintain. It's very agile and easy to maneuver."

The director did not say this, but it is a noteworthy fact that the summertime temperature in Tolga sometimes reaches 45 degrees Celsius. These are not normal operating conditions; they border on the extreme. Our veteran power truck has nevertheless withstood this test and has continued to give

proof of enviable serviceability even at these temperatures. This unquestionably demonstrates its capabilities and high quality and the high skill of its builders.

The Tolga example is special, but it is far from the only one. The products of the Balcancar Scientific-Production Commercial Association are to be found today in a total of 65 countries on 5 continents.

"Around 95 percent of the finished products made by Balcancar is exported," we were informed by engineer Tsvetana Boteva, deputy director of Balcancar-service, whom we interviewed in Sofia. "They are starter batteries and power batteries, different models of buses and trucks, diesel engines and trailers, and a great number of assemblies, elements, and electrical equipment. In first place on the export list, of course, are power and motor trucks, Balcancar's basic output and the bulk of its exports."

As a matter of fact, when the word "Balcancar" is used in business circles today, it is associated primarily with lift trucks. The West German trade journal *Foerdermittel Journal* recently awarded our association first place again in the world among lift truck builders. Again, because it also held first place in 1978, and its pace of development suggests that it has no intention of yielding this position to an American, Japanese, or any other company.

"Our most important partners are naturally the USSR and the other CEMA member countries, which account for more than 90 percent of our power truck exports," continued engineer Boteva. Balcancar also engages in extensive industrial cooperation activities with enterprises in the USSR, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and Romania. We also have prospective forms of cooperation with Cuba, Yugoslavia, and Iran. Exclusively Bulgarian or jointly operated companies and representative firms are in operation in countries of Western Europe, Africa, and Asia; they market products with the 'bird in flight' emblem. At the beginning of 1986 we signed a general agreement with China covering delivery of assemblies and parts for motor trucks and their assembly in China, provision of Bulgarian technologies for their manufacture, and participation in modernization of a plant making construction engineering machinery. Our business operations are closely associated with after-sale servicing, for which purpose we maintain technical service offices in 37 countries."

"Our materials handling equipment division did not set out all that recently on this road leading it to the top. Our first power truck was produced in 1952 in the streetcar workshop in Sofia. It was not until a few years later, however, that the historic April 1956 plenum of the HKP Central Committee gave us the necessary go-ahead, imparting this direction and initial impetus to Bulgarian power truck construction predetermining its development. Also in 1956, Bulgaria gained the right to specialize in the production of non-rail electrically powered materials handling equipment within the framework of CEMA, and this opened up broad prospects for the country. The first Bulgarian power trucks were exported to the USSR and Czechoslovakia a year later, and the first motor-powered trucks made their appearance at the end of the 1960's. Balcancar received a new impetus after the 1976-1978 period, when the materials handling equipment divisions and basic assembly production facilities began to develop rapidly."

The association has won international prizes, and its products have gained 72 gold medals at international fairs and expositions. The plants of the association turned out the millionth truck in 1985, and its designers are making preparations for new "attacks" in various areas of power truck construction.

Such are the achievements with which Balacancar, 44,000 strong, is honoring the 30th anniversary of the BKP Central Committee. They represent a composite expression of the accomplishments that entitle the association to boast of construction of materials handling equipment as one of the most splendid results of the Leninist April line of the party.

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CSO: 2200/106



ECONOMY

POLAND

# CRACKDOWN ON PRIVATE SECTOR PROFITEERING URGED

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 16 Apr 86 p 3

/Article by Miroslaw Kowalewski: "Green Light for Whom?"; passages in  
slanglines in boldface in the original/

/Text/ The view of the function and role of the non-agricultural private sector in the socialist state and related practices have been subject to change. Putting all emotions aside, let us try to examine impartially the role of this sector today, its possible and desirable role in the future as well as conclusions which can be drawn from experience of the last few years.

At present, development of what is officially termed the non-agricultural private sector is an indisputable fact. If we quote the most synthetic indicator, the share of this sector in the produced national income is small indeed, but it is growing. In 1970, this share amounted to 3.7 percent, in 1980—as much as 4.1 percent, and last year it came up to 5.1 percent.

## Time of Acceleration

Considerable acceleration has occurred over the last several years. For example, /in 1985 the number of craftsman shops was about one-quarter greater than in 1982 and the labor force, one-third greater. Dynamics in the small private retail and services were about the same./

An overwhelming majority of shops and other enterprises belonging to this sector (for example, in the case of crafts, 80 percent) concentrate on turning out consumer products or rendering services to the populace.

To be sure, private manufacturing accounts for barely several percent of the total production of consumer goods. However, these often are goods not produced by the socialized industry, small items which are nonetheless necessary for life and for comfort. As far as services to population are concerned, the proportions are reversed. The private sector contributes more than one-half; last year, it came up to 54.1 percent.



As a result, everyone coexists with this sector of the economy whether he likes it or not. This "coexistence" gives rise to mixed feelings. There are quite a few private repair shops, stands or shops which one can recommend to his friends in good conscience. There, we deal with hard-working people who approach their chosen profession honestly and responsibly. /However, at least as often--and for a good reason!--we are outraged by the greed, unreliability and swindling by the people associated with this sector, who, to tell the truth, are "craftsmen," "merchants" etc. only in name. After all, they only provide "the front" and "the capital," they live off the capital turnover while others work instead of them./ It is no accident that one-half of the recently uncovered economic crimes originated and occurred in this sector, or where it comes in touch with the socialized sector.

I have no intention to generalize anything. About 60 percent of craftsman shops are one-man operations. Only in exceptional cases can you find a crook among these men, though it does happen.

#### Line Too Easy to Cross

/However, there are too many dishonest individuals and the line between honest and dishonest things is too easily crossed./

Take a "dogsbody," the owner of a modest fish stand. He illegally adds his own margin to the canned fish he sells, raking in the 110,000 zlotys he is not entitled to. Higher turnover boosts the appetite. The owner of a construction and repairs enterprise doing work for a local CS /gmina distribution center/ pads the estimates and enters in the invoices operations other than those carried out. Result: half a million zlotys of unjustified profit. Some of the schemes yield dozens of million zlotys. The owner of a shop producing car fenders conceals the actual turnover through ingenious tricks and pays 20 million less in taxes than he should.

/Tax evasion is one of the most common forms of economic crime./ Abuses at the edge of the private and socialized sectors, for example, the so-called interception of raw and other materials from state enterprises, are equally common. Bribery and corruption take place; combinations are such that philosophers would be hard put to come up with them.

/Low quality of goods and services combined with high prices/ is yet another phenomenon resulting in justified social criticism./ The private sector is not a "monopolist" in this sphere. However, even against the background of the quite common decline in responsibility for what is being done and how, the "operation" of many private companies and shops appears outstanding./ See, for example, a long list of automobile accessories produced by private shops, sales of which were banned after mandatory quality control certificates were introduced. Installation of these parts or accessories endangered the safety of motor car operators!

/In recent years, almost 100,000 craftsman shops, private retail and service establishments have sprung up. Certainly, many of their owners intend to make a career of running their new shop. Unfortunately, there are also those who want to maximize their profits as rapidly as possible while keeping the outlays as low as possible. Profit and only profit /is important/, every way to securing it is good enough—including the way of crime.

### Stable and Flexible Policy

The resolution of 9th PZPR Congress says that the party "recognizes the necessity to ensure the conditions needed for the stabilization and development of crafts." Similarly, the theses of the PZPR Central Committee for the 10th Congress say: "Small-scale manufacturing will play an important complementary role in the marketplace (...) Together with the Democratic Party, the party /PZPR/ will still create the environment for developing the economic and service activities needed." However, at the same time "all irregularities and deviations in the non-socialized sector will be resolutely combatted."

/Therefore, two parallel lines of action emerge: the yes and the no lines. Yes: further and more efficient promotion of the non-socialized sector where there is a social and economic justification for it. No: a merciless fight against what is wrong in that sector, what is, simply put, deviance, abuse of the law and action running counter to social interests./

Conducting a stable policy with regard to the sector in question is the foremost among the measures of the first type. This stability is envisaged and ensured by the very above-quoted provisions of party documents. However, it cannot be expected that stability would mean the immutability of every specific regulation. The latter not only may, but should change sometimes along with the changes in the overall social and economic situation. The changes should fall within the confines of the generally unchanged policy--this is the issue.

This policy is made by central authorities, but implemented by their local counterparts. How are they implementing it, how should it be implemented? In short, let us put it this way: they need to show more concern for the development of private crafts and services, more understanding for their needs, let us even say that more good will is needed.

However, something else is needed. Specifically, local authorities should conduct a deliberate long-range policy with regard to the non-socialized sector. This includes, for example, the issue of preferences and priorities, which is all the more important because resources are limited and not everything can be taken care of at the same time. Services to the populace, construction and repairs, processing of vegetables and fruit, production of construction materials, etc. are generally considered worthy of preferential treatment. However, in particular provinces the most urgent needs can differ and so can the preferred branches.

/Local authorities should take much better care than they have thus far of the development of small socialized local manufacturing and socialized services. The goal is not to crowd out the private sector. There is enough space in the marketplace for both. However, this very market may and should develop in an environment of healthy competition in terms of quality, promptness and...prices. Not all local administrative authorities and national councils are aware of this fact. A dozen provinces, for example, do not envisage any perceptible development of the local industry in their draft five-year plans. This is something more than a simple oversight./

#### Taking Reality into Account

/Measures promoting the non-socialized sector must be accompanied by an inexorable fight against crime. Public opinion stirred by the reports of hoaxes, fraud, swindling and mean tricks cries out for more vigorous measures to be undertaken./ We have numerous agencies set up to combat these /practices/, from the PIH /State Trade Inspectorate/ to the IRCh /Workers' and Peasants' Inspectorate/ from treasury authorities to police and the prosecutor's office. We have laws allowing us to punish those guilty. We expect these agencies to display more vigor; the laws should be used without leniency. May the stiff penalties serve both as punishment for the guilty and a warning to potential criminals.

Owners of private shops are aware of the evil that has found a way into their midst and given them a bad name. After all, the odium caused by the dishonest affects even the most honest ones; the authorities which are sometimes reserved in dealing with the latter are so because they have burned their lip dealing with the swindlers. However, how are we to view the following cases: pursuant to the verdict of court of peers, the board of a guild petitions local authorities for revoking the license to operate a shop issued to a dishonest member of the guild. The authorities pass over the petition in silence... The guild can thus have a just grievance against the local authorities.

Private owners can have many other grievances, requests and so on. They were discussed, among other things, at the 4th National Congress of Craftsmen Representatives in late March of this year. Issues such as, for example, inadequate supply of materials and lack of space for craftsmen. Undoubtedly, with good will a lot could be changed for the better.

/However, the economic situation which actually exists should be taken into account. It is marked by, among other things, the short supply of space and many materials. Private manufacturing must share the current limitations with the economy at large./ Those private owners who receive exceptional incomes would do well to understand that when a vast majority of the populace is having difficulty making ends meet, they must resign themselves to the rigors limiting sky-high profits./ Fiscal policy derives as much from economic laws as it does from the laws of morality of the political system in which we live./

In this system there is a role for the non-socialized sector, that is, for its honest variety. There is room for above-the-average incomes, as long as they are achieved through diligent work needed by our society and in keeping with the law.

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ECONOMY

POLAND

#### NEW INVESTMENT REVIEW BODY HOLDS INAUGURAL MEETING

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 16 Apr 86 p 4

/Article by (CH): "Proceedings of Team 5 of the Commission on Economic Reform"; passages in slantlines printed in boldface in the original/

/Text/ /The inaugural meeting of Team 5 (investment and fixed asset management) of the Commission for Economic Reform on 15 April was dominated by administrative matters. A program of the team's work was adopted and permanent working groups were appointed. Professor Zbigniew Sadowski chaired the proceeding./

The breakdown of investments--which failed to change as expected--the growing contribution of the state budget to financing construction projects, disequilibrium in the investment market and the attendant drop in the efficiency of investment are but a few of the most significant shortcomings of the investment process. Making investment decisions without analyzing comprehensively the social and economic consequences of commissioning the projects, including primarily those in the spheres of finance and supply management is one of the most important reasons for this, though not the only one.

/Members of the team want to oppose this interpretation of the investment process. As was pointed out in the discussion, investment decisions should be based on solid knowledge of the status of fixed assets and the degree of their utilization. Combined with an appropriate system of economic and social incentives, this approach could facilitate a break with the bad practice of investing in "standing walls" at the expense of funding for modernization and reproduction measures. The very name of the team is an expression of this view./

It was resolved that the team would concentrate on several significant problem areas in its deliberations. The status of fixed assets management is the first extensive area of concern; evaluating the course of the investment process is the second. Financial systems of enterprises will be closely scrutinized. Members of the team will also look into the system of interaction between the investors, contractors and clients. The team will develop models needed to establish criteria for making investment decisions.



ECONOMY

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ECONOMIST REPORTS ON LONG-TERM STUDY OF ENTERPRISE BEHAVIOR

Warsaw PRZEGLAD TECHNICZNY in Polish No 11, 16 Mar 86 p 23

/Interview with Prof Dr Janusz Beksiak, economist with the SGPiS (Main School of Planning and Statistics) by Agnieszka Wroblewska: "How is the Enterprise Behavior?"; date and place not given

/Text /Question Together with your colleagues in trade, you have studied the operation of enterprises in Poland. What were the issues involved?

/Answer We studied the behavior of state and cooperative enterprises. The study was done in three stages. The first began in 1972, the second was completed in 1980 and the third—last year. Over a time span of a dozen years, we examined the goals which enterprises set for themselves, the way in which choices were made in decision-making, the requests, information etc. received from the outside and their impact on the other actors on the economic scene.

/Question In the most general terms, what can you say about the Polish enterprise?

/Answer An enterprise is an economic unit which undertakes something new at its own risk and with its own resources. If we are to keep to this definition, there are almost no classical enterprises in our country. State and cooperative units are not operating entirely at their own risks. The /economic reform did not introduce that. The role of commands from the central organs has decreased, which is not to say that economic units are completely independent.

/Question Do not the surveys carried out during the reform project a somewhat different image? Now the higher-ups have the authority to stifle the initiative of the subordinates in far fewer cases.

/Answer The reform did not change the basic premise: enterprises still do not take their own risks. If the authorities intrude on the autonomous enterprise with an order or request, and the enterprise management hides behind legal provisions, very often a magic response is heard: regulations are what they are, and here is what our particular situation calls for.

The mayor of a large city, for example, forced on a trade enterprise the amount of potatoes stored for the winter. The enterprise defended itself by explaining that the amount ordered was not necessary because it would lead to losses. However, the mayor was more apprehensive of the consequences of short potato supply to shops. He would not be the one to be held accountable for waste. Therefore, he used his position and forced the enterprise to act against its own interest.

It is true that the activity of ministries, or the intermediate level of management, has abated. Even more importantly, the subordinates are now less obedient. Appeals of orders account for one-fifth of all contacts with the supervising agency studied by us. Managers are more confident, they eagerly use the right to disobey the top brass. One could say that the position of manager is now stronger, if it were not so difficult. The difficulties are caused by commonly known shortages. The supplier's position is strong, that of the customer is weak.

/Question/ Such has been the state of affairs in our country for years.

/Answer/ The crisis enhanced it. The enterprises are shooing off the customers as they would an irksome fly, while charming the suppliers. Our enterprises experience all of their difficulties with "Input." Securing the supplies, recruiting the workforce, finding the equipment are all tremendous problems which call for undivided attention. Enterprises operating in the market economy have problems with "output"—they must attract customers.

It follows from our observations that direct contacts among enterprises have developed noticeably. The reform provides for market-type contacts, barter of goods, etc. Elements of such informal contacts existed before; now, they are much more numerous. In 12 percent of the cases the enterprises surveyed admitted that direct external contacts they maintain are of an informal nature. It is known how the enterprises held each other: they make hard currency available to each other, deliver some of the sought-after goods as bribes, and work out other schemes. For example, an extractive industry combine transferred a little hard currency from its account to a factory and in return signed a contract for the delivery of sought-after goods to its employees for 2 years.

These market-type contacts do not yet amount to the existence of a market. A regulatory role of the market has not been introduced. Let us take an example. A /wholesale/ trade unit is interested in driving up the price of merchandise because it receives a percentage margin. On the other hand, the producer insists on a lower price because the tax system prompts him to do so. The situation is sort of reversed compared to the conventional market. Finally, they arrive at a compromise price; however, there is a general shortage of goods and the black market set its own, usually much higher price.

It can be said that the regulatory function of the command system has been restricted and the regulatory function of the market has not been introduced.

/Question/ What is new in the behavior of enterprises due to the reform?

/Answer/ Business orientation is now quite apparent in the action of enterprises. In over 60 percent of the enterprises, achieving benefits was the main goal of activity, whereas in previous surveys it was in 40 percent of enterprises. However, benefits to the enterprise are broadly defined. This term often disguises a desire to obtain equipment or raw materials to carry on operations. Financial benefits to the enterprise provided motivation in only 20 percent of cases. This is not a lot if we recall that the intent of the reform was to make turning a profit the goal of enterprises.

Another group of goals includes personal benefits of the respondent (other than those associated with the benefits to the enterprise. In 9 percent of all cases, they were reported to be the main goal. In roughly as many situations benefits to the workforce were the main motivation. Keeping the authorities happy, building a good relationship with them was cited in 11 percent of cases. In this category, we register a pronounced drop compared to previous studies, which testifies to reduced obedience to supervising agencies. Nonetheless, old practices are alive.

/Question/ You also studied the process of decision-making.

/Answer/ Yes. We classified independent decisions of enterprises as calculated if the management carried out any calculation of losses or profits or at least assigned priorities to the informational material before the decision was made. Non-calculated /decisions/ are those which are routine and intuitive. It turned out that the two methods are used with equal frequency and the degree of accuracy is similar. Regardless of whether calculations were made, in over 70 percent of the cases the intended result was achieved. This can reflect both great inertia of the management cadres and the fact that calculations are not being made on the basis of strict accounting, or else that calculations are of little use when confronted with reality.

Orders from superiors accounted for one-third of the surveyed contacts with authorities, whereas various requests, indicators, non-mandatory norms etc.--for further 16 percent. Only in 12 percent of the cases were the signals from the supervising agencies of a parametric nature (prices and so on). It is instructive that during the operation of WOG's /large economic organizations/ in the first half of the 1970's, signals of a parametric type occurred more frequently, in 18 percent of cases. During the second stage of studies, in the second half of the 1970's, the command system was reinforced again and parametric forms of management occurred in only 7 percent of cases.

/Question/ It would seem that now the bank sees to it that the enterprises follow economic feasibility paths.

/Answer/ The powers of control by the banks have increased. However, the banks are not in the business of investing money profitably; rather, they play the role of the overseer and controller. The ministry chaperones the director less; the bank has somehow taken over in part.

/Question/ It causes us concern that the enterprises are not development and growth-oriented. Likewise, there is no orientation towards promoting technological progress, which we have repeatedly stated in PRZEGLAD TECHNICZNY.

/Answer/ Previously, the express orientation towards expanding operation was registered among managers. As the third stage of our studies has shown, in recent years it has been weakened. In about 20 percent of the cases surveyed, the intentions of enterprises were formulated in, as we call it, a depressive manner, for example, avoiding losses, steering clear of a messy situation, and securing supplies in order to prevent a drop in production. Such defensive attitudes are indeed troubling, because their perpetuation carries the threat of an economic depression.

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## PERSONNEL CHANGES IN FOREIGN TRADE SECTOR

Warsaw RYNKI ZAGRANICZNE in Polish No 11, 16 Mar 86 p 23

[Article: "Personnel Changes"]

[Text] Effective 1 January 1986, Bogdan Sobolewski, born on 15 October 1935 in Warsaw, is nominated to the post of economic attache in the Bureau of the Commercial Counsellor of the ARF Embassy in Stockholm.

Bogdan Sobolewski graduated from the Technical University of Warsaw. He began his professional activity in 1958; since 1965, he has been working for the Ministry of Foreign Trade. Recently, he worked for LABIMEX Ltd, as an advisor to the director of office II—chief specialist.

Effective 6 March 1986, Aleksander Tyniec, born on 12 April 1926 in the locality of Tarlow, is nominated to the post of commercial attache in the Bureau of the Commercial Counsellor of the PRP Embassy in Tanzania.

Aleksander Tyniec graduated from the Trade Academy in Szczecin. He began his professional activity in 1947; since 1968, he has been working for the Ministry of Foreign Trade. Recently, he worked as deputy director of the CHZ [Foreign Trade Organization] Ars Polona.

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ECONOMY

YUGOSLAVIA

# BORISAV JOVIC DISCUSSES ECONOMIC OUTLOOK, DOGMA

Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 22-23 Mar 86 p 9

[Interview with Borisav Jovic by Dara Vucinic and Jasna Kesic: "First of All, To Free One's Self from All Dogmas"; date and place not specified]

[Text] "I feel that the Congress must, first of all, stand firmly behind all the changes in our society that will ensure its progress. This means the following: an energetic implementation of the Economic Stabilization Program; essential changes in the political system; and all those things that will remove the current constraints on the economy so that it can function normally, ensure technological progress, and approach the working conditions of the world economy."

This is how Dr Borisav Jovic, a delegate to the Council of Republics and Provinces of the Yugoslav Assembly, replies "off the cuff" to the question "what would be the first thing he would advocate if he were to speak at the upcoming Congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY]?"

Borisav Jovic adds the following in an open manner, the same open manner that he uses when he speaks—frequently—from the delegates' podium:

"In order to do that, however, the Congress must first of all energetically oppose dogmatism. This means not only those dogmas that we have inherited from the Stalinist period, and from which we have unfortunately not yet completely freed ourselves, but also those that we have invented and which we cannot get rid of at all. We repeat these dogmas of ours, in a parrot-like fashion on a daily basis, thinking that they are some kind of general law of society, but they are the ones that impose the most constraints on our society. We must achieve having Communists think with their own heads, and work in a creative manner on ensuring the historical road of our development, in accordance with the real situation and real social needs."

## Dramatic Days

[Question] Other countries in the world also fall into crises, but they manage to get out of them in two to three years. After three years, what do you see as progress in getting out of the crises, and what as sliding back?

[Answer] Our crisis is a long-term one. If we were to compare the phases of its development, we could say that three years ago it was a dramatic crisis. At that time, certain things that could have represented a social drama in a social and political sense have now been somehow overcome, at least for the time being. It would be difficult to say how things will go in the future.

Two or three years ago, for example, we had great shortages and serious disruptions in supplying the market. We also had queues in front of the stores and a constant, daily danger of having the factories stop. In that regard, the situation is much better now. The system of supply has been improved, even though it has not reached a satisfactory level regarding choice and quality that would be appropriate for a well developed market.

The most dramatic thing was the question of the maturing of foreign debts. There was a danger of a complete inability to repay the payments that had come due, which could have made it impossible to buy imported semi-manufactures; this would have caused a complete standstill in production. This situation was also overcome, first by a successful postponement of some of the payments; and second by a significant decrease in the imports of semi-manufactures and other goods which were in the meantime to a large extent replaced by domestically produced goods, and a reorientation of the economy. Thirdly, some improvement in exports has been achieved. The balance-of-payments has to a large extent been improved so that, along with a rescheduling of debts, production can be controlled normally, and the market can be kept supplied in a relatively normal manner.

One frequently forgets those critical days which could have led to real drama.

Furthermore, changes have been effected in regard to some of the main, comprehensive regulations, albeit with major and great efforts and great delays. The Law on Foreign Exchange Dealings and the Laws on Banking, Plannings, Prices, Overall Income, and certain others which affect expanded production are creating the preliminary conditions for the functioning of economic criteria in the conduct of business.

[Question] What are your views on the initial application of the new comprehensive laws; also, have economic laws begun to be observed in Yugoslavia?

[Answer] Nothing of any importance has happened in regard to lasting steps for curbing the crisis.

The intention behind the changes that I have cited, namely the partial introduction of economic criteria in the conduct of business, such as real interest rates, a real exchange rate for the dinar, real depreciation, the formulation of prices according to supply and demand, a more realistic calculation of income, covering differences in exchange rates, more rigorous criteria in settling mutual accounts, etc., was to maintain the real value of social property, to calculate income in a realistic manner, and to spend only as much as one has. We have still not succeeded in this.

The goal of these changes was to orient the economy toward earning income by utilizing resources more efficiently and make it struggle for greater labor productivity and economy in the conduct of business; and thus somehow to make

it cover these real expenditures which were not taken into account previously. Thus far, however, there has not been much success. The economy reacted to all this by raising prices whenever possible.

### Turning a Blind Eye for a Long Time

[Question] Why does the economy behave as it does? Is it unwilling to obey or do the regulations force it to act in this manner?

[Answer] Current trends indicate convincingly that the Stabilization Program cannot be successful if it is implemented partially. Thus far, it has been implemented partially. An essential presupposition of the program was the introduction of economic criteria into the conduct of business in order to measure income realistically and conserve resources, while at the same time ensuring market conditions, i.e. competition, so that everything would not be solved by raising prices. In this area, everything necessary has not been done. Excessive demand has not been curbed, there has been no progress in organizing the market, and there has been no real increase in supply, especially of imported goods. Competition is not felt, and everybody is raising prices en masse, as if it were a cartel. Under such conditions, it is unlikely that enterprises will orient themselves toward resolving their problems through a better organization of production and new technology. That, however, is the final goal and a condition for overcoming the crisis.

The general organization of our economy, as well as society, is still unsatisfactory, and this makes it more difficult for the new measures to yield positive results. For example, increasing the interest rates did not have enough of an influence on the saving of revolving funds; on the contrary. The warehouses are overflowing, with both raw materials and finished products. Since there is a prevailing uncertainty regarding supplies, the economy prefers to be supplied for production instead of saving on supplies and thus be unable to produce in the future. This is a sign that the market is not organized well enough and that the organizations of associated labor are still not sure that they can operate with fewer reserves and at a lower cost.

An example in this regard is the increased buying of imported goods at the end of last year, prompted by fears that the changes in the foreign exchange system would make it impossible to obtain supplies after the first of the year. This is not a matter of a lack of confidence in the foreign exchange system, but rather of a lack of confidence in the fact that our state can effectively resolve these and other questions and problems.

[Question] On the other hand, for over 20 years we have had a considerably higher rate of growth and accelerated development.

[Answer] We did, but at that time we turned a blind eye to indications of the quality of the conduct of business, which were bad. They were discussed only at scholarly meetings, but little heed was paid to them. For all of 10 or 15 years, these high rates of growth--which at times were not so high--were being achieved through major borrowing abroad.

Furthermore, at that time there was a process of integration at work in the world, a process of consolidation and development for the struggle of

competition in the market. The opposite took place in Yugoslavia. A process of disintegration, fragmentation, and breaking up of the market took place. There was a technological standstill, a slowdown in the growth of labor productivity, and an inefficient utilization of resources.

A good part of the economy developed links with foreign enterprises, much more than with other enterprises in Yugoslavia. Such a disintegration of the economy to a large extent resulted from the way our state and society are organized, from our political system, decision making process, and, to a certain extent, from motives that have become institutionalized.

It is because of all this that the changes prescribed by the Long-Term Stabilization Program are essential.

The implementation of the Stabilization Program means complete treatment: a fundamental reorientation of our economy regarding the conditions of doing business, development program, and motivations pertaining to life and work.

#### The Beginning of the Beginning

[Question] What are some of the comprehensive changes that have not been implemented?

[Answer] There are a fair number. Let us take one example: the distribution of income for accumulation and consumption. The institutional conditions pertaining to distribution must be changed so that an organization of associated labor must ensure expanded production. Those who wish to pay average wages must set aside an average amount of accumulated funds. Higher wages will necessitate higher accumulation. It should not happen that somebody has higher-than-average wages and below-average accumulation. In order to accomplish this, however, it will be necessary to implement normal conditions for setting prices, etc. Still, everything has remained as before. Organizations of Associated Labor that do not accumulate even 1 percent pay wages that are 50 percent above average. The problem of expanded production cannot be solved without first solving this question. We have been discussing for two years how to implement this principle of the Long-Term Program. Now, the Central Committee of the LCY has made a step forward through its positions and actions, and I hope that this will yield some results. There are many similar difficult problems, primarily in the area of the issuing of money and credits, and in the creation of demand in general. This is why all the adopted changes are merely the beginning of the beginning that was essential for us. This is a long and thorny road that we must endure if we want to overcome the crisis permanently.

[Question] The Long-Term Stabilization Program has pointed out problems that are disintegrating our society. This was also noted in the Critical Analysis of the Functioning of the Political System. These two documents, however, differ in the solutions they propose. Why is this?

[Answer] For example, in the areas of planning, banking, expanded production, etc., the Critical Analysis proposes certain solutions that are different from those which, on the basis of the Long-Term Stabilization Program, have for all



practical purposes been transformed into laws. I hope that this will be corrected. There is no need or reason to introduce confusion into the society, one day to write laws based on the Stabilization Program, and the next to return to what we had before and discarded because it was bad. If we fail to coordinate this, we would in fact have two parallel documents with opposite views on the same topic.

I am afraid that these differences are not incidental and that this is a matter of different political outlooks regarding the direction of development for our society.

In reality, in practice we have still not liberated ourselves from certain dogmas that we have inherited from the administrative period. For example, we have introduced socialist self-management, we have had it for over 35 years, but to this day the state still exercises patronage over it to a large extent. We have retained, to a much larger extent than is necessary, the system of social concern and social intervention in expanded production, reallocation of accumulation and, what is worse, as a state we have become involved too far and in too much detail in the organization and workings of the economy. The economy does not have sufficient freedom of action.

We have fragmented the economy with regulations and motivated it in such a manner that it is difficult for it to apply economic criteria in the conduct of business. We have introduced a system of incentives that prevents integration and encourages particularism. It is more profitable for everybody to invest the available accumulated funds nearby than to join forces with others. Under such circumstances, appeals for integration and association cannot help at all.

We Agree, but How?

[Question] Do you see in this obstacles for achieving a greater and better quality penetration into the world?

[Answer] Definitely. In order to ensure that we compete successfully on the world market with a certain product, it is necessary, for example, to set aside a certain amount of funds for new research, development of new product, improvement of quality, new materials, and new technology. In order to set aside such funds, it is necessary to have large production runs, so that large amounts of money will be small percentages to be set aside. If you produce little and are a small enterprise, you will not be able to get the funds because you will have to set aside a large percentage which will burden production to such an extent that you will have to give up and become unable to enter economic competition.

For example, there are several automobile factories in Yugoslavia. All of them barely produce 200,000 automobiles of various types. They are operating in a fragmented and divided manner, and are greatly dependent on foreign technology and foreign licenses. Experts feel that only a factory producing 500,000 vehicles annually can absorb the expenses connected with the development of new cars. The situation is similar in electronics, in tractor and combine industry, in oil refineries, etc.

Regarding this, I feel that the state has placed too much emphasis on micro-organization, instead of macro-policies and macro-effects, thus preventing the economy from operating independently and forming mutual links spontaneously. This leads to the problem of the political system. We need joint views on what to change and how.

[Question] Are we at least close to such views?

[Answer] We are close to having views on what our society lacks, in what it is wanting, but not on the causes and on how we should do what needs to be done. Consensus on this is a very sensitive issue, because each change affects specific financial interests, and people are struggling frantically to preserve the positions they have achieved.

[Question] What are the prospects for development in the next few years?

[Answer] I believe that we will maintain overall balance in production, repay debts and achieve some growth, albeit not much. I do not believe that we can quickly realize major technological progress and impose major curbs on expenditures through increases in labor productivity. This by itself makes the prospects for improving the standard of living and employment modest.

Because of the uncertainty surrounding the consistent implementation of the Stabilization Program and the possible changes in the political system, it could happen that the status quo will remain, which would mean that we are destined for a long period of stagnation. I hope that this will not happen.

#### Haggling Without Criteria

[Question] During the adoption of the planning documents at the end of last year by the Yugoslav Assembly, some delegations, including that from Serbia, claimed that they had agreed to certain decisions because of political pressure. What do you think now of the decisions and pressures?

[Answer] When there are no economic criteria, there must be guesswork and haggling, and even discontent. The Serbian delegation firmly adhered to the position that encouraging the faster development of the less-developed areas must be based on objective criteria on who is developed and who is not, and also on how much money should be transferred and how. The criteria were not established because there was avoidance to present the real situation. Professional, objective analyses which were disputed by no one demonstrated that Serbia was falling behind and that it was approaching the developmental level of those underdeveloped areas to which it was contributing, and that there was real danger that it could continue to fall behind in its development.

It is evident that certain forces did not want objective criteria to be used to measure the level of development of the republics and provinces, because this could lead to changes in the status quo. Since it was impossible to reach an agreement on changes, things remained as they were. This is not in our interest, nor is the system for determining lack of development, nor the choice of underdeveloped areas. Objectively, this is not good for either Serbia or Yugoslavia.

## The Critical Point

[Question] Both this year and in the years to come, what role and responsibilities do you see for the future federal government and the League of Communists?

[Answer] I think that the Federal Executive Council could play a very positive role in this regard, but only if the broad social awareness is such that it can accept this positive role. If, on the other hand, there is rejection, the government's actions will follow this social awareness which is, after all, mostly reflected in our political fora. At any rate, the future Federal Executive Council president has announced that he would adhere to the Stabilization Program, and that it was necessary to observe economic criteria and economic laws in the conduct of business. This must be welcomed and supported.

As far as the League of Communists is concerned, it is unfortunate that it has acquired many of characteristics of disunity stemming from the disunity of the economy and the society. To a large extent, it fails to rise above local republic and province interests. This poses a major obstacle for overcoming our difficult situation. The League of Communists must understand its historic mission and the fact that it is responsible for the overall development of our society, including correcting errors. It must find the strength to rise above the disintegrating processes and interests that have begun to be dominant in the League of Communists itself. Everything depends on this. If we are successful in overcoming that critical point, we will manage to overcome all the difficulties. If we fail in this, there is the danger that the League of Communists itself will begin to break up and disintegrate. That would be a tragedy in our society.

[Question] We are in an election and congress year. Do you expect a cadre renewal that would help us find a way out of the current crisis and difficulties more quickly?

[Answer] It depends on the people, and especially on the League of Communists, whether there will be successful actions, so that the problems may be overcome through a conscious effort on the part of society, rather than through chaos and crashes. The balance of forces is also important. Right now, it would be difficult to predict how it will go and how much influence the elections will have on changes within it.

Still, I think that things will change little by little, through evolution. Maybe we will go astray and try to resolve the problems "by the seat of our pants," quickly, with "packages of measures," etc. It is an illusion, however, that one can find a way out of the crisis in this manner. We must achieve world standards in organization, technology, production, and productivity. This is a stable way and the only way out of the current problems. At the same time, however, it means changing many things that are now in existence, both in the system and in practice.

[Boxed article: "Program and Analysis"]

There is a great deal of evidence that the Critical Analysis of the functioning of our Political System is a step back when compared to the Long-Term Economic Stabilization Program.

Let us consider the question of the utilization of accumulated funds. The Program treats the matter from an economic point of view. If the collective is not using its resources effectively it will find itself in a difficult situation, because it must deal with real depreciation, pay real interest rates, repay its debts on time, and suffer losses which will force it to reduce wages. It is clear and understandable--it affects the pocketbook. The collective will endeavor to utilize its resources as rationally as possible, because this is in its financial interest.

The Critical Analysis proposes something different: social intervention. This means that somebody on the sidelines has to monitor the utilization of resources and, if they are not spent efficiently, a self-management advocate intervenes. He can propose that the resources be given to somebody else, through a technical/administrative rather than economic procedure. Enterprises are once again encouraged to consider the possibility of lawsuits to defend themselves against such intervention and prove that they need the funds, that they are useful, etc. I think that this would not at all be a good way to resolve economic problems.

[Boxed article: "Transfer of Funds"]

Objective criteria, which we have tried to formulate for the past 10 years without success, should make it clear who is indeed underdeveloped and how much assistance he needs; also, who is not and how much transfer of funds is needed. The way in which these funds are transferred is no less important.

The past method of transfer has contributed a great deal to the disintegration of the Yugoslav economy. It has led to the creation of duplicate projects, uncoordinated development, less than optimal dependence on foreign technology and licenses--in short, to everything that is causing a problem in Yugoslavia today.

Of course, there are other causes as well, but one of the most important is the method used to encourage the faster development of the underdeveloped areas. The road that should be followed is common interest. This means an economically motivated integration of the economies of the developed and underdeveloped areas. There certainly have been some positive results in this, but not enough. They should continue to be expanded and increased, regardless of the resistance which certainly is there.

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ECONOMY

YUGOSLAVIA

# CONCERN OVER DECLINING PAYCHECKS, INCREASED SOCIAL DIFFERENCES

Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 11 Mar 86 pp 9-12

[Article by Mila Stula: "The Happiness of the 13th Paycheck"]

[Text] While in some collectives surpluses of up to 50 million old dinars are being distributed, elsewhere people are forced to resort to work stoppages to seek a minimum improvement of living conditions.

Should the government's conduct be an example for the conduct of others? The question is not just a rhetorical one. The answer hides many traps and even dangers. If it is not necessary, then even the government is not necessary. If, on the other hand, it is necessary, then...well, the story begins here.

When it adopted the budget for this year, the Federal Executive Council immediately tried to incorporate three-digit inflation into it, even though it has declared to be in favor of programmed inflation. Since not even the Federal Executive Council believed what it was preaching, others did not believe it either. This assertion is proven by the already noted price increases and by the numerous requests for new increases lying in desks in the Pricing Institute. The rate of price increases visibly indicates the economy's lack of belief in a 40 percent inflation rate.

There have even been some demands for price increases of over 700 percent. This is not at all surprising when one takes into account the fact that economic entities, not only labor organizations any longer but even households, are behaving rationally or at least trying to do so. For that reason, the labor organizations are trying to incorporate the expected inflation rate into their prices and wages. It is clear that, from the standpoint of the national economy, this is not rational (the issue of awareness and morality is something different), but everybody is merely adapting to "the signals from the environment," which this time are "signals from the government," notes Professor Josip Zupanov from the Faculty of Political Science in Zagreb.

Why?

"There is a mechanism of human behavior that American social theoreticians call a self-fulfilling prophecy," says Professor Zupanov. People are not reacting to reality, but rather to how they perceive reality. Thus, an erroneous definition becomes the real one.

In order to explain the phenomena at work, the literature frequently cites the case of a small, stable bank during the well known American crisis. Suddenly, there was talk that the bank was not solvent, even though this was not at all true. Depositors arrived in droves to claim their deposits; the bank resisted for three days, and then, as was to be expected, went bankrupt on the fourth. Everybody said: See, we were right. Thus, the erroneous assertion became the true one, since the bank was indeed not solvent any more.

"Our labor organizations are behaving in a similar manner," says Zupanov. According to him, this can easily be seen from statistical data on price and wage increases. "In reality, this is one more proof that people no longer believe in forecasts. In Japan, for example, all of the government's plans are viewed as information by the economy, and the economy operates in accordance with them. In Yugoslavia, on the other hand, the Federal Executive Council forecasts a high rate of growth in production, and the economy sees a fall," muses Zupanov.

#### The Famous Final Account

In view of the fact that freezes are always hanging over the economy's head, it is not surprising that it tries to do everything possible to be prepared for them, with appropriate prices and personal incomes. Since inflation is also always flying over that same head, it seems that the time has come to distribute everything that can be distributed. Neither the general interest on the part of our workers and citizens in the distribution of leading managerial posts, nor the evident charms of Suzana Mancic or the uncertainty over who will win the lottery have diminished the interest in the feverish distribution of the famous "surplus after the final accounts."

At any rate, for a long time now people have understood that beauty and politics can provide a living for only a few. For the majority, not even the surpluses help in improving the standard of living. Some, however, will be able to use it for a month-long vacation in Hawaii, for instance, complete with guitars and Hawaiian girls. More than likely, something will be left over for the flower garlands.

Data on the economy's performance are still not available because the final accounts are still not complete, we were advised by the Social Accounting Service of Croatia. Certain things, however, are known. We were told by Danica Kovacevic, an analysis supervisor in the Social Accounting Service of Croatia, that in February 458 labor organizations employing 110,559 workers had difficulty meeting the payroll. Also in February, 126 labor organizations (with 31,192 workers) met the payroll through special short-term loans and credits; guaranteed wages were paid in two labor organizations with 474 workers guaranteed.

Such problems were noted in "Djuro Djakovic" in Slavonski Brod, Complex Organization of Associated Labor "Slavonija" also in Slavonski Brod, GK "Medjimurje" in Cakovac, "Jugoturbina" in Karlovac, "Jugovinil" in Split "Cavrilovic" in Sisak, "Mobilija" furniture factory in Osijek, the Osijek Foundry and Machine Factory, "Sljeme" in Zagreb, "Sloboda" cement factory in Podsused, "Jugokeramika" in Zagresic, etc.

Net Paid Wages  
By Users of Social Funds

	January 1985	January 1986	Index, 1985-1986
I. Organizations of Associated Labor and Labor Communes in the Economy	27,179	56,002	206
- industry and mining	12,691	425,832	204
- agriculture and fishing	649	1,426	220
- forestry	204	363	178
- water management	116	247	213
- construction	3,173	6,224	196
- transportation and communications	3,225	6,992	215
- trade	3,150	6,637	211
- hotel trade and tourism	1,025	2,031	198
- crafts and personal services	1,149	2,448	213
- housing and communal activities	721	1,351	187
- financial, technical and business services	1,076	2,451	228
II. Organizations of Associated Labor and labor communes in social areas	3,463	7,780	225
III. Other Non-Economic Sectors	2,048	4,777	233
Comprising:			
- Labor commune banks and other financial organizations	382	934	244
- Self-managing communities of interest	266	554	208
- Organs and organizations of socio-political communities	1,324	3,091	233
- Other users of social funds	76	198	260
Total	32,690	68,559	210

The workers' willingness to shoulder the burden of stabilization is jeopardized more than anything else by the fact that, while the exhausting labors of some are accompanied by a temporary permanent tightening of the belt, others are living quite well because of certain fortuitous circumstances. Circumstances are circumstances, it is neither possible nor necessary to influence them. It is probable that the employees of the foreign and domestic trade organization "Granat" in Zagreb were justified in paying out several tens of millions of (surplus) dinars to each employee, in contrast to the "Prvomajski" foundry or Sljeme, which paid nothing; we have selected at random the organizations that paid nothing. The producer of alcoholic and nonalcoholic beverages "Badel," whose production fell by 10 percent while its income rose by 237 percent, paid to each employee a surplus payment equaling the average monthly wage in 1985.

The Zagreb Fair, "Iris," and the majority of other labor organizations acted similarly. It is understandable that average earnings are different, and so are the surpluses. Of course, it would not be advisable to call upon anyone to justify himself without a previous detailed analysis of achieved productivity, earnings, skill levels, exports, and other business indicators. It is evident, however, that personal incomes are growing even where a fall in productivity has been noted. Petroleum products industry is an example. Productivity there has fallen by 3.4 percent, while personal income rose by an almost identical percentage--last year it averaged 52,032 dinars.

Likewise, one should not neglect the fact that last year 142,000 people received social assistance, ranging from 1422 to 15,500 dinars. Even if such aid were to double, it would perhaps suffice only for the utilities, and maybe for bread and milk.

709 thousand workers received supplementary payments for 1.8 million children (ranging from 700 to 7047 dinars).

Since life is not a fairy-tale, and the president of the Federal Executive Council is not a "good fairy" who could equalize unequal conditions for doing business and earning income, and complete the incomplete criteria for distribution with a wave of her magic wand, the poor are getting more numerous and the rich are getting richer. It is therefore no wonder that work stoppages, a means of voicing the workers' discontent, are becoming more and more frequent.

#### Where Were the Stoppages?

Stoppages not caused by low personal incomes are rare. The work stoppages in the Labor Organization INA-Trade Basic Organization of Associated Labor-Labor Unit for Gas Trade surprised only the uninformed ones. The workers are demanding an immediate increase in personal income because the standard of living of the workers (semi-skilled, skilled, and highly skilled) is seriously threatened. Most of the workers have demanded a redistribution of the available funds in favor of the "production workers," which has not happened thus far in the Complex Organization of Associated Labor INA-Trade. They are emphasizing that they regret having to stop working, but they feel that this is the only thing left for them to do. They are aware of the fact that they cannot demand wages for work they have not performed and in violation of the regulation on the distribution of wages; they are demanding a more just compensation in accordance with work results and conditions, as stipulated in the ZUR.

Low wages have also brought about a strike in the Labor Organization "Zora." The average wage during nine months of last year in this labor organization was 31,937 dinars, the lowest was 20,062 dinars, and the highest was 77,317 dinars. Work stoppages and protests also took place in "Vulkan" in Rijeka, a basic organization of associated labor foundry producing steel castings, because of a 25,000 dinar decrease in wages in comparison with December of last year, in the rest and recreation facility belonging to the labor organization "Jugovinil" in Stara Fuzina, in the agricultural-craft commune "Vinjani" in Posusac on the island of Brac, etc. Thus, during these cold days wages have become a hot topic.



It is very difficult for a journalist to obtain first-hand data on labor organizations. If the workers are dissatisfied, the management is "overburdened" with work and naturally has no time for journalists. If, on the other hand, there were sufficient funds to distribute as a surplus, there is still no time for journalists because one never knows what a journalist could dig up. All in all, they always invoke the Social Accounting Service. They say, "wait for the analysis of the final accounts and you will learn everything."

Resignation or ...

Until such time as the Social Accounting Service has finished its part of the task, let us see what, according to Zagreb Center for Market Research, the public opinion has to say (the survey was conducted in Croatia). The problem lies in social differences. Approximately 65 percent of those queried felt that the social differences were too great, while 22 percent felt that they were average. Sixty-two percent felt that they had come about through illegal earnings. The causes can be found in bribery, corruption, and the reselling of goods (30 percent), high wages, (25 percent), utilization of various privileges, perks associated with official positions (12 percent), living conditions (5 percent), family ties (4 percent), lifestyle (8 percent), working conditions (2 percent), etc. The comprehensive survey on the influence of wages on social differences indicates that three-fourths (66 percent of those surveyed have jobs) feel that the existing differences in wages are great. The intensity of criticism increases with the amount of education. Replies to the question asking how much these differences motivate better job performance do not give a rosy picture of the wages. Forty-one percent feel that these differences in wages are not a result of work performance and consequently cannot be an incentive.

Even the authors of the survey were surprised by the degree of tolerance that could be noted in response to the question "how much of a hindrance are social differences"? Only slightly more than a third of the respondents stated that they were "greatly bothered" by them, and another third that they were "on the whole bothered" by them. The authors' conclusion was: "The question whether this is tolerance or a kind of resignation and a coming to terms with the current state of affairs is one that sociologists and all social forces should look into as seriously as possible because it could become a problem that is more serious than the fact that social differences are growing."

Undoubtedly, sociologists will "have their hands full" when they analyze this years' distribution of wages in the final account. In the words of Professor Zupanov, in our work life there used to be an informal social norm expressed by the following question: "Will someone complain if we increase wages or pay out a surplus without being completely certain that it is in order to do so"? Until recently, work conduct has respected this norm. According to Zupanov, "it is clear that, in addition to an erosion of morality and other things, this norm is also being eroded." Does this mean that a new informal norm is slowly being introduced, which could be reduced to the following lowest common denominator: "Grab as much for yourself as you can"? In this matter, the trade unions must not avoid their part of the task. At any rate, Bernardo Jurlina from the Council of the League of Trade Unions of Croatia says: "Our most important task is the implementation of the Social Agreement on Wages. Its basic goal is to give an economic meaning to the utilization of resources and labor through the introduction of prices for labor and resources. A second, not less important

goal is to pay a similar wage for approximately comparable work and work results. It is also essential to implement a higher degree of fairness in the distribution of wages."

Discussions on surpluses in 1987 will show how successful we have been in this.

[Boxed article: "Slovenia Officials Are the Exception"]

[Text] In accordance with a decision by a special commission of the Republic Council of the League of Trade Unions of Slovenia, officials and professional personnel in that body will not be paid the difference in wages according to period accounting for last year, i.e. the so-called 13th paycheck. In all probability, the decision was made at the initiative of the Republic Executive Council and its president Dusan Simigoj. In talks with presidents of Opstina Executive Councils in the middle of December last year, Simigoj said, among other things, that everything possible must be done to stop the paying out of the 13th paycheck. There are probably many reasons for this, because in the last few months of last year the distribution of the 13th paycheck spread like wildfire in some collectives in Slovenia. It is not known whether any other republic or opstina forum adhered to this initiative, but it is clear that many organizations of associated labor did not, not even those whose work results would not permit the distribution of the 13th paycheck. It would be difficult to determine how high a 13th paycheck each organization gave out, because the Social Accounting Service and the statisticians monitor only the monthly payments of wages by branches and not individual ones.

[Boxed article by Dj. L.: "Macedonia; Little and Difficult"]

[Text] The phenomenon of the commonly called "13th paycheck", distributed in November, December, or January, is no longer popular in Macedonia. The reason for this is the fact that until recently, nominal wages in Macedonia have been rather "depressed" and the fact that there are a fair number of organizations of associated labor operating at a loss (267 with a total of approximately 96,000 workers). By law, these workers are being paid limited wages, regarding which there have always been a fair number of difficulties in the banks, because they are covered by other funds and reserves.

The structure of wages in Macedonia is fairly broad: 2.2 percent of the workers receive wages of up to 14,000 dinars, 19 percent receive between 20,000 and 25,000, 21.5 receive between 25,000 and 30,000, 16 percent receive between 30,000 and 35,000; 26.2 percent of the workers receive over 35,000 dinars. According to statistical data, in nine months of last year the [average] wage in economic jobs reached 26,094 dinars and it has grown by 56.5 percent in relation to the previous year. In non-economic activities, there were attempts to catch up with the cost of living faster. The average there was 29,102 dinars, which was 61 percent more than in the previous years.

[Boxed Outline]

### Factors Limiting Development

1. Forty percent of Yugoslavs have jobs that are too high for their educational level.
2. Thirty percent of those employed do not have links to (just) the villages.
3. Forty-two percent of those employed work in the parallel economy.
4. Twenty percent of the employed constitute organizational-technological and other types of surplus labor force.
5. There are 980,000 unemployed.

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POLITICS

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

ORIGIN OF HUNGARIAN-SPEAKING MOLDAVIANS DISCUSSED

Bacau ATENEU in Romanian Mar 86 p 7

[Text] Under the suggestive titles "The Major Source of Romanian Culture" and "Scientific Research at the Service of Historical Truth," the editorial board of the magazine LUCEAFARUL (7/1986) organized a debate on the book "The Origin of Hungarian-Speakers in Moldavia," by D. Martinas, which demonstrates through "Romanian language arguments" the Romanian origin of the Csangos [Hungarian-speaking Moldavians]. The unquestionably honest viewpoints expressed were summed up by critic M. Ungheanu: "D. Martinas's book, which represents the work of a lifetime, is the outcome of a dramatic inner struggle and constitutes at the same time, an electrifying scientific contribution and an act of justice for these Csango villages whose nickname should be changed into honorable titles for the manner in which they defended their Romanian consciousness in the face of unfavorable circumstances, dangerous confusion, and renewed danger of Magyarization... D. Martinas has brought to light a truth buried under and smothered by layers of prejudice and self-serving fabrications, and has given it a fair chance to become an asset of Romanian culture and a moral support for the people among whom he was born. The publication of the book is in fact linked to a new context of development of scientific research in Romania. The rejuvenating principles and revolutionary spirit of the ninth congress made the publication of this book possible. It was perceived that this book was conceived in a modern and realistic spirit of respect for the truth and that it fitted into a materialist-dialectical and historical perspective of the development of the Romanian society.

"I want to stress here that the religious struggles and conflicts in Transylvania concealed profound and serious social and public conflicts, and that the Marxist interpretation of the phenomenon, by puncturing the myth of these conflicts and divesting them of their "spiritual" cloak, helps us understand the social and political changes that occurred in Transylvania, as well as, in the case of the origins of the Csango, the exodus of the Romanians from Transylvania, their settlement in Moldavia, and their subsequent condition there. Marxism teaches us that we should not allow ourselves to be tripped up by words ("catholic," "orthodox"), but should consider the social and political problem they mask, the economic exploitation they conceal, and the class or national exploitation. Because, beyond the fact that these wanderers are one thing or another, bear one label or another, it is far more important to understand why they left, because of what circumstances, and at



what stage of economic, social, political, and national development they had been."

Indeed, in presenting our history as it was, as opposed to all "self-serving theses," such works are always welcome.

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POLITICS

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

ROMANIAN EXAMINES 19TH CENTURY HUNGARIAN DOCUMENTS

Bucharest REVISTA DE ISTORIE in Romanian No 3, Mar 86, pp 295-296

[Article by Anastasie Iordache: "A Study Trip Through the People's Republic of Hungary"]

[Text] During 18 November and 7 December 1985 I took a trip through the People's Republic of Hungary for the purpose of scientific study, under the framework of the cooperation agreement between the Academy of Sociopolitical Sciences of the Socialist Republic of Romania and the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. The topic of the study was: Romanian-Hungarian relations in the 19th century.

In view of the briefness of the trip and in order to ensure a greater efficiency, I was compelled to limit my sphere of documentation to the 1848-78 period, whereby the last decade made the subject of my present research.

Thus, I proceeded to study the following sources at the State Archives in Budapest: the Kossuth Lajos Collection; the Archives of Gen Henrik Dobinsky; Romanian Writings (Roman Iratok); and Hungary's Council of Ministers (Magyar Kiralyi Ministerelnok), for the years 1871-78.

At the Szechenyi National Library I studied in particular the press of the time, such as PESTER LLOYD, REVUE DE L'ORIENT, and REVUE ORIENTALE, as well as books, collections of documents, and bibliographies.

Particularly interesting material I found at the Kossuth archive, which is very extensive, especially regarding correspondence between statesmen and political figures of the time, the correspondence of emigres of the 1848-49 revolution, and plans to forge a confederation of the Danubian nations on the basis of absolute equality of rights and of separate national identities permitting the development of their specific national traits.

In the order of succession of the events studied, the following were found to be noteworthy: Andrei Seguna's note to the Transylvanian clergy issued at the constituent meeting held in Sibiu on 11-23 December 1947, concerning the recruitment of Romanian young men for the Austrian army; letters from Michal Czajkowski and Ion Ghica to General H. Dembinski and to the Polish generals in the Hungarian revolutionary army, dated April 1949, in which they recommended

helping Nicolae Balcescu to fulfill the mission entrusted to him by the leadership of the Romanian emigres with the Hungarian revolutionary government, namely to achieve a reconciliation based on the legitimate rights of the Transylvanian Romanians. Of a very special interest is Ion Ghica's appeal to the Polish generals in the Hungarian revolutionary army to promote acceptance of the solidarity among oppressed peoples, for which purpose he entreated them to try to iron out the differences that had emerged between Romanians and Hungarians in the course of the revolution by recognizing the inalienable national rights of the Romanians, thus permitting the so badly needed understanding in the face of the common danger; it was for the purpose of attaining such an understanding that Nicolae Balcescu had been sent to Pest.

Equally important are the letters exchanged by the Polish generals serving in the Hungarian army; they reflect the flaws of the revolutionary leadership, stemming from the intransigent attitude toward the refusal to grant national rights to the nations incorporated against their will in the reconstructed historical Hungary. Along this line, General H. Dembinski's memoirs turned out to be very thoroughly documented and objective. From these memoirs I excerpted and commented several paragraphs referring to: the differences between Kossuth and Batthyanyi on the organization of the revolutionary army itself, and the nature of the struggle of the Transylvanian Romanians.

General Dembinski objectively and knowledgeably presented aspects of the activities of the Hungarian revolutionary generals, who conducted an erroneous policy toward the other nationalities. He paints a perceptive portrait of Kossuth: his personality and his totally misguided mentality, anchored in the ghosts of the past and aimed at reconstructing the Hungarian medieval state on the foundation of the democratic freedoms proclaimed in March 1848.

Other documents found at the above-mentioned archives deal with: Romanian emigration, and letters written by Cesar Bolliac, Ion Balcescu, and Giuseppe Garibaldi to Ion C. Bratianu and C.A. Rosetti, to General Klapka, L. Kossuth, and British Ambassador to Istanbul Stratford Canning, about the matter of the diamonds entrusted to Cesar Bolliac.

At the archives of the Hungarian Council of Ministers I studied dozens of files dealing with Romanian history. Most of the documents refer to the economic relations between the two neighborly countries, the problem of goods transit, and that of connecting the Predeal-Brasov and Virciorova-Orsova railway tracks. During the war of independence there had even been a political dispute caused by the Romanian government's failure to implement the clauses agreed upon in 1874 on the terms of building the railway connection. The dispute was settled by the Romanian foreign minister, Mihail Kogalniceanu, who appealed in writing to Prime Minister K. Tisza and also sent D.A. Sturdza to Budapest in May 1878 to negotiate a new arrangement or convention.

The documentary material scanned also covers other aspects of the Romanian-Hungarian relations in the respective period, and will be appended to the documentary information featured in Romanian archives, document collections, press, and writings, which they complement from many viewpoints.

With the cooperation of experts of the State Archives and National Library, I succeeded in fulfilling the scientific mission undertaken for my topic by uncovering some important documentary sources which throw light on various lesser known aspects of the Romanian-Hungarian relations.

In my free time, I visited history and art museums, cultural establishments, and historical places and monuments.

Although my trip was short, the fact that I uncovered important documentary sources apt to elucidate certain lesser known aspects of the Romanian-Hungarian relations proves the usefulness of conducting historical research at foreign archives.

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12 June 1986

## POLITICS

## GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

## SUMMARIES OF MAJOR EINHEIT ARTICLES, MARCH 1986

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 41 No 3, Mar 86 (signed to press 12 Feb 86)  
pp 194, 287

[Summary of article by Guenter Schabowski, member of the SED Central Committee politburo, first secretary of the Berlin SED bezirk leadership; pp 197-201. A full translation of this article is published in this report]

[Text] Equal to the Challenges of our Time

In connection with the preparations for the 11th Party Congress, the Berlin Bezirk Delegates' Conference shows that under the direction of the Marxist-Leninist Party the GDR people are able to meet the challenges of our time and that they are "in a position to solve even the most complex problems in the struggle for the further development of Socialism and for the safeguarding of peace" (Erich Honecker). Motives and initiatives are discussed and explained.

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Fritz Haberland, department head at the SED Central Committee's Central Institute for Socialist Economic Management, and Prof Dr Walter Maeder, deputy department head at the same institute; pp 208-213. A full translation of this article is published in this report]

[Text] An Inexhaustible Source of Growth

Today our combines have at their disposal considerable scientific-technical capacities. How do advanced combines utilize this inexhaustible source of growth to develop new technologies and products, to produce first-rate, internationally competitive results, to improve efficiency? Prerequisites for the creative atmosphere required.

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Gregor Schirmer, deputy head of the Sciences Department of the SED Central Committee; pp 228-231. A full translation of this article is published in this report]

[Text] For a Change for the Better in International Life

Observations on the results of of the Bucharest conference held by the Central Committee secretaries for international and ideological questions of the socialist countries' communist and workers' parties. In the new phase of the struggle for peace and disarmament, what impulses does the conference give to the political and ideological work after the Sofia and Prague meetings of the fraternal parties' top representatives and the summit conference of Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan?

[Summary of article by Gen Heinz Kessler, member of the SED Central Committee, GDR minister of national defense; pp 232-239. A full translation of this article is published in this report]

[Text] The National People's Army--an Army for Safeguarding Peace and for the People's Well-Being

In the past 3 decades, our National People's Army--born during the struggle for the safeguarding of peace--has honorably discharged its historic mission to protect our achievements. What are the main sources of its strength--the sources ensuring that the National People's Army can continue to protect peace and Socialism and to help maintain the military-strategic balance?

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Dieter Spaar, first vice president of the GDR Academy of Agricultural Sciences; pp 246-250. A full translation of this article is published in this report]

[Text] Key Technologies in our Agriculture

To ensure long-term intensification in the agricultural sector, increased application of the key technologies is required. Information is provided on research work in the fields of microelectronics, biotechnology, and incident basic technologies, and on what can be gained from application of these technologies.

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POLITICS

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

BERLIN PARTY PERFORMANCE EXTOLLED

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 41 No 3, Mar 86 (signed to press 12 Feb 86)  
pp 197-201

[Article by Guenter Schabowski, member of the SED Central Committee politburo, first secretary of the Berlin SED bezirk leadership: "Equal to the Challenges of our Time"]

[Text] The course and the results of the party elections testify to the unparalleled depth of the social preparations for the 11th SED Congress. They demonstrate that the policy pursued by the revolutionary vanguard of the working class is as much as ever in harmony with the interests and aspirations of all citizens. The trust between the Party and the people is greater than ever.

The leading role of the Party is deeply and organically rooted in the foundations of the socialist society. It is based on the logic of reality, on the results of the policy oriented toward the principal objective, the unity of economic and social policy, which was formulated by Erich Honecker at the Eighth SED Congress. For as long as 15 years, the Socialist Unity Party has been following this course for the benefit of the people--a course that enriches the life of each citizen and fuels the economic dynamism, the rapid political, economic, and intellectual-cultural rise of our republic.

By awakening and releasing the people's creative energy, the Party translates its leadership into action. The Party has been leading the people toward accomplishments, the historic significance of which is being recognized all over the world. In public debates, in interpersonal discussions with their comrades, at the enterprise election meetings and at the kreis or bezirk [GDR administrative units] delegates' conferences, people from all walks of life spoke up. In many instances, they spoke on behalf of their work or party collectives. The high goals they set for their own work bespoke great expertise, realism, self-assured optimism, and a sense of responsibility for society as a whole. The election conferences became mirror images of our socialist society of educated and mature citizens. As the Party has created conditions enabling the people to act on behalf of their own as well as the society's interests, its authority among the people is undisputed. This guarantees the authenticity of its policy.

Like the Berlin conference, all of the other bezirk delegates' conferences can look back on unparalleled success over the last 5 years. This success proves that faced with rapidly changing internal and external conditions and with the challenges of the present time, the GDR people "are prepared to accomplish even the most complex tasks in the struggle for the further development of socialism and the safeguarding of peace." (Footnote 1: Erich Honecker, "We Want the Present and the Coming Generations to Be Able to Prosper in Peace," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 10 Feb 86, p 3.) This statement--made by Erich Honecker in his closing speech at the 16th Berlin Bezirk Deputies' Conference--outlines the substance and far-reaching social significance of the party congress initiative. Oriented toward the future, toward the GDR of tomorrow, it does not lose sight of present everyday problems. But in order to solve those problems most effectively, one must take into account future developments.

The motive, purpose, and substance of the popular movement before the party congress are reflected in the thousands of personally signed pledges made and submitted by individual workers and work collectives at the kreis and bezirk deputies' conferences. The exemplary initiative of the Zeiss workers has borne fruit. These pledges are strikingly concrete in that they are to be accounted for at the party congress--down to the last penny. They testify to the fact that the economic strategy adopted at the 10th Party Congress inspires all working people. Two key motives kept coming up in the discussions at the election meetings and at the delegates' conferences: Continuing improvement of productivity guarantees continuance of the successful policy for the benefit of the people; and the stability and dynamism of the GDR have an absolutely positive effect on the struggle for peace, on the security of the world of today and tomorrow.

In an interview with the FRG weekly DIE ZEIT, which attracted world-wide attention, Erich Honecker pointed out that, today, accomplishment of the historic mission of the working class is inseparably linked with the struggle for the safeguarding of peace. His comments on Mikhail Gorbachev's extraordinary program for freeing mankind from nuclear weapons of mass destruction has been used by all party members as a rich source of information for the political discussions in the popular movement prior to the 11th Party Congress. The GDR citizens' commitment to peace derives from the simple and cogent logic of a statement made by Erich Honecker to the effect that in a third world war--which would be a nuclear war--there would be neither winners nor losers. In word and deed, the citizens affirm the responsibility history has imposed on the two German states in regard to safeguarding peace. At the deputies' conferences, many speakers emphasized that if the Federal Republic of Germany--like the German Democratic Republic--refrained from participation in the militarization of the cosmos, this would be an event of extraordinary significance. They stated it was imperative that neither of the two states do anything that would aggravate the situation; an unequivocal rejection of Washington's "star war" plans by the FRG would contribute to a successful outcome of the negotiations between the Soviet Union and the USA.

Apart from the coordinated (and jointly pursued) foreign policy, the further consolidation of our fraternal alliance with the USSR is manifested in the joint endeavor to combine the advantages offered by Socialism with the requirements of the scientific-technical revolution. The resolutions adopted



at the 27th CPSU Congress are providing strong impulses in this regard. It is above all through increasingly close and interlocking cooperation with the USSR (and this view, too, has again and again been voiced in the public discussions) that we will be able to meet the demands deriving from the further development of the new society characterized by true freedom and the dignity of man. The complex programs arranged within CEMA and with the Soviet Union and the other fraternal countries have a stimulating effect on the struggle for outstanding achievements and for the development and application of advanced technologies--a struggle in which tens of thousands of working people were involved during the preparations for the 11th Party Congress.

In Berlin as well as in all bezirks [GDR administrative district] of our republic, both the bezirk and the kreis delegates' conferences were characterized by that practice- and work-oriented approach by which Communists objectively analyze results achieved and formulate totally exacting tasks.

The delegates at the Berlin bezirk conference determined that the best results in the history of Berlin have been produced in the period after the 10th Party Congress: Owing to the industry and creativity of Berlin's working people, the drive toward comprehensive intensification has been started in the capital as well. Since 1960, net production in the industrial sector increased to 167.9 percent, and in the construction sector, to 148 percent. During this period, labor productivity in the industrial combines increased to 162.8 percent, while production input was reduced by 5.9 percent; this shows that this development is determined by new qualitative factors. Key technologies are being introduced into the production process at a rapid rate. Whereas 10 years ago no more than 3 enterprises were engaged in the production of microelectronic products, at present as many as 18 combines and enterprises turn out over M 3 billion worth of microelectronic components and equipment per year. As a result of the accelerated housing construction, housing conditions have improved for another 322,000 Berlin citizens in the last 5 years.

The immense capacities of highly productive industrial combines and internationally renowned scientific institutes, the unparalleled housing construction, and--along with it--the restoration and renovation of cultural centers and other architectural gems that year after year attract hundreds of thousands of visitors have elevated the socialist capital of our workers' and farmers' state to the rank of an attractive metropolis. During the party elections, our past accomplishments served to make the people aware of their own capacities, to heighten their self-assurance and sense of power, and--through pride in what has been accomplished--to strengthen their ties with the socialist fatherland and the party of the working class.

Following the work-oriented trend characterizing the party elections in the bezirks and kreises [GDR administrative units], the delegates at the 16th Berlin Bezirk Delegates' Conference established a number of concrete targets which the bezirk administration--taking direct responsibility--will account for by the 11th SED Congress. These targets include

one day's output in excess of the plan targets for net production, industrial commodity production, and construction output;

one-percent overfulfillment of the labor productivity and net profit targets;

M 25 million worth of consumer goods, shipments and services in excess of the plan targets;

implementation of 160 selected projects in the fields of science, technology, and production in accordance with the scientific-technical and economic parameters planned;

completion of 12 housing complexes in Berlin-Hohenschonhausen and modernization of 2,241 apartments in the first quarter of 1986;

admission of another 900 young workers--primarily from youth brigades--as party candidates.

The 176,000 Berlin Communists and--inspired by them--the workers of more than 25,000 of the capital's work collectives are setting to work to implement these and other targets; they know that through continuous plan fulfillment in every decade and every month, they create optimal conditions for attainment and systematic overfulfillment of the annual targets. And they consider good 1986 plan results to be the best starting position for the new five-year plan up to 1990.

The party members are concentrating their efforts on further consistent implementation of the Party's economic strategy in accordance with the resolutions adopted at the 10th and 11th Central Committee sessions. Pushing the key technologies from the stage of isolated use to that of large-scale application was one of the main topics at the delegates' conference. Through the pledge he made at the bezirk delegates' conference, Richard Schimko, director of research and technology at the Television Electronics Plant, pointed out the standards to be observed in this respect: "We will develop and produce opto-electronic components distinguished by an even broader range of applicability and oriented toward foreign as well as domestic markets, and in so doing, we will consistently utilize our own technological capacities, above all the ample resources available in our plant. Once we are able quickly to mass-produce high-grade articles of this type at low cost, then we can say we are on top of the situation and master the key technologies as a sociopolitical task."

Norbert Langhoff, head of the Center for Scientific Instrument Building at the Academy of Sciences, illustrated the significance of economically grounded cooperation between science and the production sector: By means of computerized work stations, industrial partners were able markedly to reduce the time required for research, development, construction, and transfer and to increase productivity by between 300 and 500 percent. In the coming five-year plan period, it will thus be possible in the Berlin combines and enterprises to attain above-average, two-digit net production and labor productivity growth rates.

Gabriela Thamm, milling-machine operator in the parent plant of the Berlin Rationalization Equipment Combine, pointed out ways of improving the results of the efficiency drive and of tapping substantial reserves by means of multi

-shift utilization of fixed assets. She is one of the first workers in the plant who are about to learn to operate a modern turning and milling station. That man remains the main productive force even under the present conditions created by the scientific-technical revolution is underscored by her statement: "When we know the objective and the operational priorities, the experience of our colleagues opens up many possible solutions."

At the election meetings, it was impressive to see the fervent desire of young skilled workers and young well-trained members of the intelligentsia to engage in pioneering work in science and technology. The Berlin bezirk delegates' conference concluded from this that extensive support is needed on the part of the party organization for establishing 40 new collectives of young researchers and another 100 youth brigades. Establishment of 55 technical study groups for high school students and of 9 computer study centers at vocational schools prior to the 11th Party Congress is another measure designed to help the young people master modern technology.

The party elections set new qualitative standards for management work. Youth Brigade Leader Lutz Frenkel (Luckenwalde VEB), who is engaged in the "Berlin FDJ Initiative," pointed out that while superior workmanship and promptness are part of the construction workers' code of honor, they are also contingent upon the project preparation and work organization by the supervisors. Proving himself a good Communist by applying strict standards to his own supervisory work, Hans Pankonin, director of Construction Plant 3 in the Berlin Housing Construction Combine, faced up to this just demand. He said it was imperative that a supervisor always be mindful of helping to develop the skills of every single worker. Those collectives in which the supervisors stimulate productive ambition and innovation will always rank among the best in regard to high-quality work.

The magnificent plan concerning the development of Berlin up to 1990, which was outlined by Erich Honecker at the bezirk delegates' conference, calls for first-rate work performance and superior management. Completion of 166,000 new or modernized apartments between 1986 and 1990 will improve housing conditions for 440,000 Berlin citizens. As the new city districts of Berlin-Marzahn and Berlin-Hohenschönhausen are undergoing further expansion, another new residential district, Berlin-Hellersdorf, is being developed; and in Altglienicke-Schoenefeld Nord, the foundations are being laid for 12,000 new flats.

In the center of the capital, the most interesting and attractive residential and shopping districts and the most beautiful boulevards and pedestrian zones will be built in the next few years. By 1990, approximately 13,400 new flats will be completed in the Friedrichshain, Prenzlauer Berg, and Center districts. In the historical town center near Marx-Engels-Forum--all around Nikolaikirche [Nikolai Church]--a great many townhouses are being rebuilt; restored, the Ephraim Palais, the "Gerichtslaube" [Court Arbor], and the "Nussbaum" [Nut Tree] are as beautiful as ever. In addition, there will be 350 flats, new shops, restaurants, and cafes. The housing construction and reconstruction work in the Friedrichstrasse/Otto-Grotewohl area is one of the high points in the development of our capital. The construction exhibition staged on the occasion of the bezirk delegates' conference helped the Berlin



citizens to get an idea of the impressive changes planned in connection with the further development of the capital--Ernst-Thaelmann-Park (to be opened in a few weeks), construction of a large-scale planetarium in this part, and many other projects. By the time the city celebrates its 750th anniversary, many of these projects will be completed and will be attracting guests from all over the world. Regarding the Berlin citizens' working and living conditions, improvements planned up to 1990 include 12,000 day-nursery places, 32,200 kindergarten places, between 1,950 and 2,000 class rooms, 75 to 80 gymnasiums, and 480 openings for physicians, above all in polyclinics and outpatient departments.

Through appropriation of the enormous amount of M 36 billion for construction work in the next five-year plan period, the key problem of the Party's social policy, the housing problem, will be solved by the end of this decade. An old goal of the revolutionary workers' movement will be realized--the goal Wilhelm Pieck pointed out in 1931 in a Berlin city council debate on the housing shortage: "Should this task be tackled in earnest, we would see even more clearly ... that there is only one way: ...to establish a workers' state in which the top priority is to provide the working masses with housing." (Footnote 2: Wilhelm Pieck, "Wohnungsnot--im Kapitalismus ein unloesbares Problem. Gesammelte Reden und Schriften" [Housing Shortage--in Capitalism an Unsolvably Problem. Collected Speeches and Writings], Vol 4, Berlin, 1981, p 407.) This workers' state is embodied by the German Democratic Republic.

In the coming years, Berlin's continued rapid development--as outlined by the secretary general--will be daring as much as realistic. Consequently, the Berlin party organization has made the commitment never to be satisfied with mediocre performance in regard to plan fulfillment. The objective is through exemplary results in science, technology and production, through qualitative improvement of industrial goods and housing, and through an ample supply of consumer goods and services to uphold Berlin's position as a socialist capital and metropolis.

The portrayal of the popular movement during these weeks before the opening of the 11th SED Congress would be incomplete without mention of the great emotional and political mass effect of a significant work of art, the television film "Ernst Thaelmann." With great artistry, the film shows where we come from and what our party program and our self-assurance are based on. Interestingly, it is the young viewers in particular who are drawing a parallel to the policy presently pursued by the party of the working class. The film's message--Thaelmann-style work for and with the masses, for the well-being of the people, for a prosperous and peaceful future--reflects the essence of our party's policy.

Looking forward to the 11th Party Congress, the GDR people are certain that it will formulate new, promising goals for the benefit of all of us. The best each of us can do even today to get closer to attainment of these goals is day after day to do our utmost to strengthen the socialist fatherland. To take the lead in this effort means to live up to the honorable name of Communist. Through its actions, the Berlin party organization will substantiate the



conviction expressed by the secretary general before the delegates to the effect that in preparing for the 11th Party Congress and in implementing its resolutions, the party organization and all Berlin citizens will stand their ground in the first rank of the builders of Socialism, of the champions of peace.

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POLITICS

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

**BUCHAREST IDEOLOGY SECRETARIES' MEETING ASSESSED**

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 41 No 3, Mar 86 (signed to press 12 Feb 86)  
pp 228-231

[Article by Prof Dr Gregor Schirmer, deputy head of the Sciences Department of the SED Central Committee: "For a Change for the Better in International Life"]

[Text] The periodical conferences held by the Central Committee secretaries for international and ideological affairs of the socialist countries' communist and workers' parties have long been giving significant impulses to the work on political and ideological problems. The Bucharest conference was particularly significant in that after the Sofia and Prague meetings of the fraternal parties' leading representatives and after the summit conference of Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan the participants discussed the current ideological tasks in the new phase of the struggle for peace, disarmament, and arms limitation. (Footnote 1: NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 21/22 Dec 85, p 6.) Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev's program for a world free from nuclear weapons and other means of mass destruction, a world free from any threat from space, has added a new dimension to the struggle for a peaceful future for mankind. (Footnote 2: See statement by Mikhail Gorbachev, "Extensive Proposals by the Soviet Union in Regard to Freeing the World From Nuclear Weapons," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 16 JAN 86, P 2.)

The fraternal parties appreciated the extraordinary significance of the summit meeting and lauded Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev's fundamental, creative, and flexible work. As Comrade Erich Honecker stated at the 11th session of the SED Central Committee, the results of the meeting "did not meet all expectations and hopes," but all in all, the conference was "encouraging and therefore positive." (Footnote 3: "Observations on the Results of the Geneva Summit Meeting--From the Report of Comrade Erich Honecker," in: "11. Tagung des ZK der SED" [Eleventh Session of the SED Central Committee], Berlin, 1985, p 12.) Undoubtedly, it is something positive that "mindful of the special responsibility the USSR and the USA bear for the safeguarding of peace," the Joint Soviet-American Communique expressed the realization "that nuclear war must never be unleashed and that no one could win such a war," that "any conflict between the USSR and the USA would have catastrophic consequences," that any war between them--whether nuclear or conventional war --must be prevented, and that they will "not try to attain military superiority."

(Footnote 4: "Joint Soviet-American Communiqué," in: "Sowjetisch-amerikanisches Gipfeltreffen in Genf 1985" [Soviet-American Summit Meeting in Geneva 1985], Berlin, 1985, p 12.)

It is encouraging that the president of the United States likewise pledged to continue the political dialog and by means of matter-of-fact negotiations to come to a binding agreement on the key issues concerning arms limitation and disarmament, above all in regard to nuclear weapons. The declarations of intent must now promptly be followed by actions. In view of the fierce resistance offered by the most aggressive circles of Imperialism, it will not be easy to turn the start made in Geneva into a change for the better in international relations. Certain preconditions for this were established in Geneva.

#### The Categorical Imperative of Our Time

Today every international policy claiming to be reasonable and realistic has to be based on a categorical imperative: "Regardless of whether or not we like each other--we must learn to live and get along with each other." ( Footnote 5: Erich Honecker, "We Stand by Our Promise to Do Our Utmost for the Safeguarding of Peace," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 14 JAN 86, P 1.) This goes for all states, both the large and the small ones, on all continents and in all regions--irrespective of their social systems and of their affiliation with or attitudes toward alliances.

In view of this situation--and with the object of keeping it under control for the sake of mankind--the socialist states are proposing the concept of peaceful coexistence in the nuclear age. It comprises simple rules of international conduct such as

--respect for another state's sovereignty, including inviolability of its borders and its territorial and national sovereignty, and noninterference in its internal affairs;

renunciation of war and armed force (including both nuclear and conventional weapons) as absolutely unsuitable means of solving international problems; instead of this, employment of peaceful means, above all dialog and negotiations on a basis of equality;

affirmation of such renunciation through concrete steps toward disarmament and arms limitation on a basis of equal security up to the point of general and total disarmament;

development of mutually beneficial economic, social, and cultural cooperation based on equality and free from any form of discrimination.

Individually and collectively, the Soviet Union and the other socialist states have submitted a great many proposals to flesh out this concept--proposals that take into consideration the interests of all states, peoples, and classes, including the bourgeoisie's interest in survival and in trade. The Soviet Union's latest proposals--holding out the hope of total elimination of nuclear weapons by the end of this century--offer a concrete three-stage

program to this end. They are based on the assumption that both states forego development, testing, and deployment of offensive space weapons. The proposals submitted by Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev concern all types of weapons and their range is a global one. This is a historic program for a change for the better, for a world of peace.

As a result of the actions of aggressive imperialist circles, above all of the United States, the world has reached a crisis stage--a stage at which it is imperative that the states exercise restraint in their mutual relations and refrain from aggravating the tense situation. The international public and many politicians are becoming increasingly aware of the fact that the United States' plans and practical preparations for the deployment of weapons in space are about to produce a well-nigh uncontrollable destabilization of the global situation or, even worse, chaotic disruption of international life; thus, the "revolt of the world conscience" against Washington's "star war" plans.

The fraternal parties will do their utmost to intensify the active political dialog and to carry out large-scale actions for peace and disarmament. As a result of the course of events, the present international situation is such that the United States can no longer afford flatly to reject the proposals submitted by the Soviet Union. It appears that even in the leading circles of the United States there are forces that realize that the policy of confrontation and intensified rearmament is dangerous to the United States itself and that the incident goals are unattainable. In the--more or less plain--judgment of the other NATO states, the proposals submitted by the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact are promising and merit negotiation. Unequivocal support for Washington's "star war" plans by the NATO partners is out of the question.

In terms of participating forces and their actions, the world-wide movement fighting for peace and against the arms race has of late grown larger and more diverse. This movement is gaining all the more influence, as the various groups are cooperating (while maintaining their independence) and concentrating their demands on what is most important--prevention of the militarization of space and total elimination of nuclear weapons. Of great significance is the presence of the Socialist International and of influential socialist or social-democratic parties and the trade unions' (stronger than ever) commitment to the struggle for peace. Almost all of the important labor unions are opposing the "star war" program. Many youth and women's organizations--including some bourgeois ones--have been speaking up. The ecological movements are becoming increasingly aware of the interconnections between their demands and the struggle for peace and disarmament. Influential circles in the churches and many religious organizations and people have declared their support for the struggle for peace. Of great importance are the organizations and movements of the intelligentsia and the artists' community, above all the words and deeds of scientists and physicians (what with their technical expertise and moral authority). It goes without saying that now as ever the Communists are actively working for peace.

Thus one can say that in spite of the die-hard reactionaries who want military superiority, intensification of tensions and conflicts, and preparation for



war, a great deal of what is being done points toward a political attitude in keeping with the necessities of our time, toward a coalition of common sense and realism.

Similarly, a politically responsible approach is what distinguishes the relations between the GDR and the FRG. The overriding concern here is the safeguarding of peace. By supporting the U.S. administration's policy of intensified rearmament, the FRG Government, above all the circles close to the military-industrial complex, have been obstructing the return to detente. But again and again, there come to the fore--within and outside the ruling circles--independent and vital FRG forces that are oriented toward peace, disarmament, and development of normal relations in various fields, above all in the economic sector. New possibilities are opening up in regard to cooperation with all the forces guided by common sense and realism. This is evidenced by the successful and mutually advantageous talks and negotiations Comrade Erich Honecker and other SED representatives conducted with members of the SPD leadership.

We feel compelled by our responsibility and by the logic of a policy based on dialog to talk with any person in the FRG who holds a position of power and influence, regardless of that person's political and ideological persuasion. We will not let ourselves be dissuaded from pursuing this course, not even by those revanchist forces who keep calling into question the postwar order in Europe. For the sake of peace, we will continue to rebuff these dangerous ambitions; we will confront them with Erich Honecker's and Helmut Kohl's Joint Communique of 12 March 1985 which affirms the inviolability of the borders and the respect for the territorial integrity and sovereignty of all European states within their present borders as a fundamental prerequisite for peace. This communique lays down the responsibility shared by the two German states: German soil must never again give rise to war; it must give rise to peace.

#### Offensive Propaganda of the Accomplishments of Socialism

In view of the demagogic campaign waged by reactionary politicians and ideologists, the participants in the Bucharest conference adopted an unequivocal position: Socialism is by no means afraid of the dispute concerning human rights. On the contrary. Socialism represents the continuing realization of human rights. And it is precisely through active exercise of rights and obligations by the socialist citizens that Socialism is implemented. This dialectic comprises one of the merits of the socialist system. Our conception of human rights is oriented not toward confrontation and destabilization; rather, as formulated in the UN Charter, the Human Rights Conventions, and the Helsinki Final Act, it is integrated into the struggle for peace and cooperation among the states and nations. The right to a life in peace is the supreme principle of this conception. All citizens are equal in that they are entitled to work, social security, codetermination in regard to all social affairs, personal integrity and freedom, education and cultural advancement. The citizens' rights and liberties are not only embodied in laws: There also exist the material and practical prerequisites for exercising them. Naturally, the rights are balanced by obligations. The realization and further development of human rights is an organic function of our social system and its democracy. We are dealing here with legally established

political, socioeconomic, and intellectual-cultural facts. In a nutshell, this is our socialist human rights policy.

Present-day Capitalism has no convincing alternatives to this. Or what is the connection between mass unemployment, new poverty, political manipulation of the workers and reduction of their rights, educational privileges, illiteracy and the implementation of human rights? In our view, this is antihumanism, a million-fold violation of human rights. Let us fight with facts and arguments and let us do so in a way that does not jeopardize the peaceful coexistence of states and peoples! In the interest of peace and of the international community, we must keep ideological differences from influencing international relations. The fraternal parties have reaffirmed their determination to rebuff any attempt to disparage the realities in the socialist countries and to interfere--under the pretext of defending human rights--in their internal affairs.

It is symptomatic of the far-sighted policy pursued by the fraternal parties that in connection with the problems concerning world politics there took place an exchange of experience in regard to the implementation of youth policy; after all, the struggle for peace and disarmament is being waged primarily to ensure a prosperous future for the young generation. In accordance with the party program, the SED's youth policy is based on the principle of placing confidence in the young people and giving them responsibility. The young people are actively participating in the development of the advanced socialist society; showing initiative, they are helping to implement the policy oriented toward the main objective and thus are benefiting from the results of this policy. Owing to their achievements at school, at the university, during their military service, and on the job, and on account of their social work in the FDJ [Free German Youth], they are able to stand their ground in the struggle for peace. Thus, along with the older generations and under the direction of the party, they are implementing the socialist way of life.

The parties represented at the conference reaffirmed their determination to consolidate the relations based on friendship and cooperation and to try to extend the cooperation among the socialist countries.

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## POLITICS

## HUNGARY

## AUSTRIAN ARTICLE CHIDES NEPSZABADSAG FOR AD ATTACK

Vienna DIE PRESSE in German 28 Apr 86 p 3

[Article by Peter Martos: "Danube Protectors in 'Blue Light'"]

[Text] The full-page PRESSE advertisement by Hungarian environmentalists—after the stir in Western mass media—is now making waves also in Hungary. The delay is easily explained: just as the not-so-blue Danube takes its time to flow from Vienna to Budapest, several days always pass before information turns into reaction there.

In this instance, speed was of the essence. After the Magyars had learned of the unprecedented Czechoslovak-Hungarian Gabčíkovo-Nagymaros system of barrage weirs with locks directly from DIE PRESSE, or from other newspapers such as SÜDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG and LE MONDE, or from the Munich-based RADIO FREE EUROPE, the answer appeared in next to no time: only 3 days later, the party paper NEPSZABADSAG summoned TV journalist László Szabo, who is used for "special tasks," in order to correct the supposedly one-sided information given to their citizens.

In his article called "Advertisement" he mixes fact and opinion into a conglomeration—deliberately or out of ignorance?—which is to make the 30 signers of the PRESSE ad appear in an unfavorable light. In ironic tones it is claimed that it took courage to advertise in that newspaper—and not so much because of the cost. "The courage consists rather in signing a statement without finding among them a single important expert who, we claim, had actually convinced them that scientists, researchers and practical people had been wrong..."

All those experts were by no means wrong. What the NEPSZABADSAG author forgot to mention is the fact that the Academy of Sciences quoted by him had registered a whole packet of objections. And experts of the Donaukraftwerke AG, which acts as general contractor of the project to be financed by an Austrian loan of 7 billion Schillings, were not satisfied by far with all the planning details of the system of barrage weirs and locks.

There is another reason why it took courage for the 30 Hungarians to advertise in DIE PRESSE. After the Budapest leadership finally came to the decision last year to begin preparatory work, after much hesitation,

opponents of the project were subjected to running the gauntlet: reprimands on the job alternated with searches at their homes, collections of signatures were confiscated, and in February the police finally stepped in when the "Danube Circle", critical of the project, wanted to draw attention to the problem by taking a walk.

In view of these harassments, the courage needed to advertise abroad is treated with irony in the party newspaper: there are "individuals longing to make a scene" who, "under the cloak of environmental protection" pursue political intents and personal interests. But the reason that an ad appearing in the West is signed by "only" 30 people is probably to be found in the fact that other opponents of the project are relatively unknown. After all, before being confiscated, a protest list had been signed by over 10,000 Hungarians, and 2,655 people had put their names on a petition to the Council of State.

The evidently unpreventable construction of the Gabčíkovo-Nagymaros system of barrages of weirs and locks, however, also has an internal East Bloc cause. Western journalists are often told on the sly that Budapest must observe the agreement with the CSSR if it wants to obtain even the smallest improvements in the interest of the Hungarian minority in Slovakia. Only insiders know how far the year-long internment of the Bratislava civil rights fighter, Miklos Duray, was actually used as a means of pressuring Hungary. But it is a fact that Czechoslovak commentaries on Budapest's "own way" have been less unfriendly since construction work began on the Hungarian side of the Danube.

As Szabo writes, without a doubt relations between Budapest and Vienna will not suffer because of the ad. Rather, it could be because of the changes wrought, possibly with Austrian participation, in the Hungarian landscape and specifically at the romantic Danube bend.

Why the 30 signers of the PRESSE advertisement really needed courage becomes evident in the person of the author of the NEPSZABADSAG retort: Laszlo Szabo is the "maker" of the TV broadcast "Kek feny" (Blue Light), the Hungarian counterpart of "XY - Unsolved." His reputation among the Hungarian population allows drawing the conclusion that his article in the party newspaper was meant as a warning: next time, he could make opponents of the system of barrages appear not in an unfavorable light, but rather in the Blue Light. And whoever gets mentioned in Szabo's broadcasts is in, or gets into, trouble with the police.

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## POLITICS

## POLAND

## SOCIAL PROBLEMS THREATEN POLAND'S EUROPEAN ROLE

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 29-31 Mar 86 p 3

[Article by Prof Michal Dobroczynski: "Polish Affairs to be Attended to"; passages in slantlines printed in boldface]

[Text] /Poland is effectively emerging from the stage of crisis difficulties. This is being admitted even by increasingly broader circles of Western -- if not public, then specialist -- opinion. The issue at present is not, however, so much overcoming the complex whole of current problems as laying solid foundations for a successful longrange development and averting the potential danger of a return of the crisis peaks of the 1950's, the 1960's, the 1970's, and the beginning of the present decade./

At present Poland's situation is in many respects special and exceptional. The uniqueness of a fairly large variety of trends or processes occurring in this country not infrequently requires resorting to instruments and measures other than those employed even in the countries closest to us, in order to influence the course of events.

On the other hand, it should be borne in mind that the evolution of events in Poland is to a large degree consonant with the patterns observed within the group of countries with parameters similar to those of Poland. /Transition from the stage of considerable backwardness to the rung of high advancement is always bound to involve -- at least in the light of the experience so far -- numerous tensions, contradictions, and frustrations./ At the middle level of development, special problems are caused by the gap between rapidly rising knowledge of [as published, probably meaning awareness of Polish public opinion about] the standard of living and interpersonal relations in the most advanced [Western] countries and the limited possibilities for truly effective action.

The attendant dilemmas are at present characteristic of at least 15 or so countries with a middle level of development. It is thus worthwhile to bear in mind that Poland is not the only major debtor country, that Poland is not the only country in which people are showing great impatience in face of what they consider to be a too sluggish pace of income growth, that it is not the only country in which great accomplishments and a high culture

coexist with relics of poverty, primitivism, and churlishness, that glaring political mistakes and social disappointments have occurred not only here.

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Contemporary Poland is undoubtedly a land of contrasts. During the first postwar decades the advances in education and culture in this country, as induced by political and ideological premises, distinctly outpaced economic advances. In the last 15 or so years this ratio had become rather reversed, especially with respect to the incomparably more rapid rate of growth in incomes and expectations -- more rapid than the growth of an authentic and mature universal culture, including political culture. The consequences of this development are widely known.

Among the numerous Polish problems that await resolution it is difficult to isolate the most important ones: depending on one's point of view and the tensions of the present moment, various problems acquire priority. /The security of the state, its development, and the preservation of national identity are undoubtedly a solid and permanent triad of simply inseparable elements of the Polish *raison d'etat*./ Disregard of any one of these purposes of action is sooner or bound to lead to a glaring crisis. This is obvious. It is more difficult, on the other hand, to formulate clearly the priorities for the immediate future. At least several problems require, however, greater emphasis than previously. Below are three of them.

/First. New legislation always leads to doubts and questions, but even greater apprehensions are caused by the current disregard of the binding legal norms./ The statement can be hazarded that there exist few countries, particularly in Europe, in which lawbreaking is as widespread, so natural, as it were, as in Poland. This concerns besides not major spectacular breaches in the structure of social obligations, but the quotidian tardiness of millions of people in reporting for work, the custom of parking in prohibited places, or the trampling of paths across lawns. Trivia? Yes and no. Such minor infractions of the law perturb the harmony of work and leisure, make law-abiding people look like simpletons, often nullify the purpose of municipal facilities -- a pile of glass shards, a couple of broken bushes and an overturned trash basket suffice to turn a midtown park into its antinomy -- and together compose the dangerous process of "aggressive upbringing" in the spirit of sly readiness to overturn the great fundamental norms of existence of the state in the name of petty personal interests.

For history teaches that, for years now, no social upheaval in Poland has simply landed from the sky on a parachute, that the excesses attending each such upheaval have their cultural substratum, regardless of the deeper reasons justifying social protests. The problem, in this connection, is not so much the cultural deficiencies of the individuals who violate laws "externally" as the imperfections of persons who accept lawbreaking "internally" as it were, who look on indifferently -- contrary to their official obligations -- while laws are broken, laws trampled, and traffic signposts disregarded. There is nothing like this anywhere else in Europe.

/Second. The Polish tradition of equality and condemnation of exploitation has not yet succeeded in consistently transforming abstract concepts into effective quotidian mechanisms of social justice./ This situation has many menacing and grave implications. For as known -- at least to theoreticians -- administrators taking tea breaks or doing make-believe work are paid from profits generated by textile-factory workers or other hard-working groups, and this is simply an abuse.

In Polish conditions there still exist too many fortuitous perks, such as apartments that remain virtually uninhabited. or special cut-rate vacations or car purchase discounts (as compared with market prices) whose beneficiaries most often are not persons absorbed in great duties but those who devote their entire attention to gaining additional income on a scale reaching, in this context, even hundreds of thousands and millions of zlotys annually. Their financial "successes" are in quite a few cases due to glaring violations of the socialist principle of to each according to his labor.

/Third. In this country there persists a surprisingly blatant discrepancy between meticulous European or world-level handling of showcase projects and the situation in the "backyard." Vestiges of "Potemkin villages" turn out to be surprisingly longlived. Suffice it to compare the front wall of the Royal Castle with the trash-strewn area on its other side, or the hectares of barracks, supposedly needed to reconstruct a single palace room, on the embarrassingly devastated and filthy lawns, in order to grasp the discrepancy between the vision of the country's political and cultural elite and the mechanisms of everyday life. Such contrasts simply do not exist in highly developed countries.

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The Polish society is becoming increasingly better-educated and more conscious of the situation abroad. Irrespective of how is this trend to be interpreted, it has to be considered objective and hence inevitable. /And everything must be done to prevent the growth of the gap between the economic and civilizational advancement of Europe and the level of achievements in this country. In particular, this requires an unprecedentedly consistent implementation of the assumptions of the economic reform and the total abandonment of the whole lot nonsensical aspects of our development over the decades./ We cannot attain qualities competitive with the achievements of the developed world so long as dogmas convenient to individuals who dislike solid work will continue to obscure the need for an intense and enterprising commitment of every individual to the process of generating national income.

Not only in Poland but also in other socialist countries many socioeconomic assumptions and mechanisms are currently being rethought. /On the audacity and consistency of changes will hinge our future place in Europe. This truth should reach everyone, although it may not be convenient to all./

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MORE SOCIOPOLITICAL TOPICS IN FILM NEEDED

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 21 Mar 86 p 2

[Article by Urszula Bielous: "PZPR Filmmakers' Caucus Session"]

[Text] On 20 [Mar 86] was held a session of the PZPR Filmmakers' Caucus under the Culture Department of the Central Committee, attended by Central Committee Secretary Waldemar Swirgon, Director of Culture Department under the Central Committee Witold Nawrocki, and Vice Minister of Culture and Art Jerzy Bajdor. The session was chaired by Jerzy Kawalerowicz.

The performance of film studios over 2 years was analyzed and evaluated by Director of the Program Department under the NZK Jerzy Schoenborn. Feature films were evaluated fairly positively, although attention was drawn to two facts: the noticeable prevalence of commercial cinema, which is fairly often successful, and, on the other hand, the tangible decline in the interest of filmmakers in social and political problems. The danger of the commercialization of Polish cinema ensues largely from the fact that elements of the economic reform have been included in its mechanisms of action. Even so, filmmaking is not a profitable activity, as its cost is steadily rising.

An absence of interesting scenarios as well as an absence of scriptwriters are felt. Contemporary topics of a sociopolitical nature are poorly represented. In general, film studios are being reproached with lacking a coherent concept of artistic programming, although this reproach does not apply to all the studios. It is opined that Kadr Studio, for which the largest number of successful films has been recorded, is under proper artistic direction. Next to it in rank is Silesia Studio, followed by the Perspektywa and Profil studios. The least favorable evaluation applies to the Rondo Studio, which produces auctorial films that often reflect highly personal views of their authors and whose cost is extremely high and attendance, unfortunately, is low, averaging below 10,000 viewers.

In the discussion attention was drawn to the fact that the self-governing creative cooperatives of filmmakers represented by the film studios should pay considerable attention to evolving a programming and production concept in view of the growing crisis of the cinema and the videocassette invasion. It was also pointed out that the commercial nature of the entire current repertoire of Polish motion picture theatres does not promote thinking in artistic terms so far as shaping the nature of Polish cinema is concerned.



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KOSZALIN AKTIV VIEWS SOCIAL CONTROLS

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 18 Mar 86 p 5

[Article by (11): Koszalin: Instead of Relying on Inspections -- Abuses Should Not Be Tolerated"]

[Text] (Own Information) Adherence to principles of socialist morality and law and order was last Monday, 17 [Mar 86], the subject of discussion at a conference of worker party aktiv in Koszalin. The conference was attended by Member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo Albin Siwak.

The report presented by First Secretary of Koszalin Province PZPR Committee Eugeniusz Jakubaszek cited many instances of waste of public property. It paid considerable attention to the plague of drunkenness, the lack of concern for order, the disregard of rules of safety and hygiene of labor, etc.

Several inspections were recently conducted in Koszalin Province. They demonstrated that in more than one enterprise adherence to fundamental legal provisions is insufficiently monitored. Many justified complaints about improper relations at workplaces, in offices, etc., continue to be made.

Who should prevent this and how? Who should bear responsibility for this? Answers to these questions were formulated fairly often during the discussion. Many comrades were of the opinion that inspections alone are not enough. For this concerns something more, namely, creating an atmosphere and conditions for the universal condemnation of all abuses, mismanagement, and instances of disregard of the principles of social justice and legal provisions.

Sergiusz Denusiuk of Kolobrzeg said that even the most effective inspection at every workplace and office is not as good as [proper work by] the basic party organizations themselves. Provided, however, that instances of poor work, drunkenness, pilferage of public property, etc., be examined at party meetings and used to infer proper conclusions. This also applies to complaints. Yet, inspection findings are not always considered at meetings of party organizations, trade unions, and worker councils.

This issue was also raised by Member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo Albin Siwak. He declared that basic party organizations should primarily monitor adherence to principles of socialist justice and law and order at

their work establishments. These organizations should also defend those workers who undertake a struggle against any manifestation of cronyism, bribetaking, and other social plagues that often are signaled by citizens in the complaints they address to the PZPR Central Committee and local party echelons.

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'SOCIAL PATHOLOGY' ISSUE AT LOMZA MEETING

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 18 Mar 86 p 5

[Article by Alicja Zagorska: "Lomza: Everyone Should Be an Active Participant"]

[Text] (Own information) In Lomza on 17 [Mar 86] was held a conference at which the law and order situation was analyzed and directions of action to combat phenomena of social pathology and strengthen law and order and public safety and security in the province were considered. The conference was attended by Director of the Socio-Legal Department under the PZPR Central Committee Stanislaw Ciosek and Undersecretary of State and First Deputy Minister of Justice Tadeusz Skora.

The province's public is disturbed by phenomena of social pathology. It views them as the main obstacle to overcoming the difficulties we are experiencing. The conference participants mentioned specific instances as a way of expressing their disapproval of the most vexatious pathological phenomena, and at the same time they explored ways of overcoming them.

The province party echelon reacts sharply to instances of violation of moral and ethical principles by certain party members. During the discussion, Mieczyslaw Czerniawski, first secretary of the province PZPR committee, stated that province and local party control commissions considered 88 cases of transgressions, which most often concern neglect of elementary work duties, breaches of discipline, abuse of managerial positions, drunkenness, and improper attitude toward one's family. Party members who display attitudes that compromise them often receive the most severe penalty -- expulsion from membership in the PZPR.

Similar disapprobation should be shown at enterprises toward employees with a dubious moral attitude. Yet, according to Province Prosecutor Jerzy Kubrak, while plant collectives do condemn such malefactors, they form a "solid phalanx" in defense of idlers, drunkards, shoddy workers whenever their work comrades are concerned.

Causes of crime in this province may be less obvious -- in crime statistics Lomza Province is below the nationwide average. But, according to Edward Wrobel, chairman of the PRON [Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth]

Province Council, this does not mean that crime is any less vexatious in the province.

Many speakers in the discussion referred to the role of the family in shaping proper moral attitudes among young people. The speakers voiced the conviction that improvements in interpersonal relations, in the culture of life, are conceivable only if social evils meet with universal condemnation.

The topics of the Lomza conference will be further discussed at the coming session of the Province People's Council, to which the conclusions of this discussion will be transmitted.

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BIALYSTOK VOIVODSHIP MEETING ON SOCIAL PATHOLOGY

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 11 Mar 86 pp 1,2

["Social Ills Censured" -- PAP Report; passages within slantlines printed in boldface]

[Text] /Problems of strengthening moral health and law and order and preventing and counteracting all occurrences of social pathology were on 10 [Mar 86] the subject of a province-wide meeting of about 400 representatives of socio-occupational communities./

The participants in the meeting considered what should be done to eliminate from our reality violations of the norms and principles of social coexistence and effectively combat the plagues of drunkenness, idleness and parasitism. They agreed that, in addition to a rigorous application of legal provisions, various social instruments should be more broadly utilized.

According to Aleksy Zin, a public activist from Hajnowka, "every third participant in individual party talks in our area pointed to the need to combat social pathology."

According to Jadwiga Rudzinska-Patejuk, the chairperson of the Province Board of the League of Polish Women, nearly all manifestations of social pathology are traceable to shortcomings in the upbringing of the rising generation.

PZPR Central Committee Secretary Jozef Baryla took a position on the proposals made at the meeting which will, as he declared, contribute to the central program for the prevention of social pathology and the nurturing of the moral health of the nation. The speaker stated that the discussion of these problems is an important factor in the preparations for the 10th party congress. For moral health is both part and a cardinal goal of the currently discussed PZPR Program.

The central committee secretary further stated, "The morality of the nation is also an important means of developing our economy, while quality of production hinges practically directly on organization of work and discipline, meaning also complete sobriety of workers. We can't thus speak of economic stabilization unless all adverse pathological phenomena are consistently eliminated from our life. /Here it is important for the activities of the

agencies appointed to enforce law and order to receive solid social support./ The generation of an atmosphere of sensitivity to any evil, such that people would not ignore it, is an important task for us all." /Further, the Central Committee secretary stressed that, "In initiating the struggle for the moral health of the nation, the party relies on a broad participation in that struggle by both party and non-party members, believers and unbelievers, and all social organizations. In our activities we should publicize the names of good and honest people and shape new values and moral exemplars for the rising generation.

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OPZZ REPRESENTATIVE ON POOR LABOR SAFETY

Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish 1 Mar 86 p 5

[Interview with Anna Mierzynska, vice-chairman of the OPZZ, by Marek Henzler; date and place not specified]

[Text] [Question] How does the OPZZ assess current working conditions in Poland?

[Answer] Working conditions are bad. We have more and more plants exploited, often with enormous technological lines bought in the 1970s, but to make it cheaper, they are without proper safeguards. For example, the "Polmo" plant in Marki that processes asbestos. The provisions made by the plant do not match those provided for in the plans. Many of these plants, despite reforms, without outside help cannot afford an improvement in working conditions. There are also factories where conditions could be good with minor expenditures, but they are not because unfortunately labor safety is in last place here.

[Question] Aren't the premiums that are supposed to compensate workers for deficiencies in work safety and the loss of health, but ultimately do not resolve the issue of safe work, in last place in the interests of labor unions, which above all strive for wages, vacations, leave, shorter working hours, the proverbial half liter of milk, etc?

[Answer] Our interests come out of the needs of our members.

[Question] Must more conscientious union activists ultimately go along with the general trend of workers who fear that as working conditions improve, their premium for harmful working conditions will be taken away?

[Answer] First of all it is necessary to eliminate the situation wherein a number of workers are interested in maintaining bad working conditions because otherwise they will lose that extra money. We and the national labor inspectors know of cases where workers, for fear of losing their premium for working under conditions harmful to their health, during inspections by "Sanapid" or other authorized entities taking measurements of harmful elements, shut off ventilation and exhaust equipment. We have to start paying not for difficult conditions at work, but for the difficulties associated with the use of safety equipment.

[Question] Will the workers agree to that?

[Answer] It is hard for me to say. Nevertheless I think that the fundamental issue is the replacement of harmful technology.

[Question] The chief labor inspector submitted to the Planning Commission a list of about 150 plants that need to be modernized in the next few years because of the unusually harmful technology in them. Several hundred billion zloty are needed for this. But what can be done with plants whose modernization the national budget cannot afford?

[Answer] We have to give up on these plants. Would it pay us to produce invalids and sick people?

[Question] Yes, but when the labor inspectors closed the foundry in Radom for several weeks, union members threatened to strike because of the suspension of production until the chief inspector had to meet with them to avoid a conflict.

[Answer] This again is a matter of awareness. The basic purpose of a union organization is acting so that the workers associated with it are satisfied. Besides this--let's be frank--if the wages earned by a worker permitted him to satisfy all his needs, he would certainly pay more attention to the conditions under which he works.

[Question] Labor unions exist in about 24,000 plants and the union's social work review in only 20,000. Why?

[Answer] As the OPZZ we can only stimulate union organizations to action; we cannot impose anything on them.

[Question] Perhaps we should look for the reasons for this influence in the low efficiency of the work of the social inspector. From Polish Press Institute information, it is apparent that despite the powers they have, none of them has decided to stop machines or jobs that threaten work safety. This happens only when the national inspector enters the plant.

[Answer] I would not agree with such a general statement. We have many examples of positive action by the social labor inspectors, where the inspector makes the decision to stop machines or equipment or remove the employee from work. But it is a fact that in many cases the social work inspector resists making such a decision. This may be dictated by a lack of sufficient professional and technical preparation or fear of the possibility of getting into a conflict with plant management. The law protects his working relationship for only one year from the end of his term.

[Question] The Central Institute for Labor Safety surveyed workers. They were asked if the one who observes the rules for safe work is appreciated by the foreman. Eighty-two percent of the workers said the supervisor's attitude



toward such workers is negative. Shouldn't the unions oppose such attitudes among management personnel--those from the department, the plant and above?

[Answer] Certainly, but we alone will not change that.

[Question] Union legislation allows for the possibility of intervention by union organizations in the plants, including the issue of working conditions. Has any union intervened, perhaps started a collective dispute for that reason?

[Answer] We do not know of any such instance.

[Question] If, starting today, at the request of the OPZZ, union members were to begin observing all the rules associated with work safety. . . ?

[Answer] Half of the plants would come to a standstill.

[Question] And. . . ?

[Answer] This is not the only answer. One answer is expenditures for safe equipment. And if at this moment we cannot afford to modernize all dangerous plants, let's do it in small segments, but consistently and to the end.

[Interviewer] Thank you for the interview.

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#### TRADE UNIONS FUTURE ROLE DISCUSSED

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 20 Feb 86 p 4

[Article by Krzysztof Szczesniak: "Labor Unions: Asking Directions"]

[Text] According to the most recent data, 5,732,000 workers, or 55.3 percent of all those employed belong to labor unions in Poland today. Such is the situation on a general scale. But the map of "unionization" in individual trades and regions understandably looks rather different. There are plants--relatively few--in which almost all personnel belong to unions, and there are factories, even large ones, where the ratio does not exceed 30 percent. There are also those where a plant union organization has not been established.

If one can draw any kind of conclusion from this fact, it is probably only that the revival of the union movement in Poland has not occurred and is not occurring by way of administrative pressures, as the Western media like to suggest. On the contrary, the emergence and growth of the ranks of union members have taken place and continue to take place in a totally voluntary way. Union activists stress this at every turn. Moreover, they say they have no intention of gathering absolutely all workers into unions. For in many cases, this would be a formality that could do more harm than good.

#### To Attract Through Action

This does not mean that unionists have stopped caring about all those who stand aloof, suspicious, still unconvinced. That is not the case. The reasoning is going rather in the direction of what to do to make the forms of union activity more attractive, what style and model of action to adopt, what issues and subject to address so that that group of workers would finally accept that unions are the way to go.

Answers to these questions are sought more and more during meetings, assemblies and councils of union members. How often there are voices of self-criticism. During one recent session of the OPZZ Executive Committee, for example, several of the participants pointed to the still inadequate activity of a large group of labor union organizations. Organizers rest on their laurels, do not contend for much and do not concern themselves with developing an image in relation to workers.

As a result, the broad powers won by the union movement and included in an amended Sejm bill last year are being wasted. There are various opinions. Some say that the law and its applicable rules are 40 percent utilized, while others say barely 10 percent. In any case, the number is hard to establish precisely, but that is not the point. It is something else that is important--no one insists it is otherwise. Therefore unionists are fully aware of the present situation; they are merely trying occasionally to explain themselves, giving examples of plant management's also not taking advantage of the points of the law, minimizing requirements or simply blocking initiatives that go beyond the proverbial concern over potatoes and parsley for the winter.

#### Protection of Interests

To tell the truth, working people do not care much about this. If labor unions exists, it is not for the purpose of merely existing. The point is effective protection of worker interests. If they have an opportunity for action, then they should make use of their capabilities within the bounds of the rights granted to them. The expectations of more than 10 million working people in Poland are still enormous.

Work safety and hygiene are still deficient. The organization of work, matters of inventiveness and technological improvement, efficient use of energy and raw materials are constantly seeking a worthy and appropriate sponsor. Nothing stands in the way of labor unions' having, if not a monopoly, then a significant role in these areas. Likewise with questions of productivity, improvement in quality and management efficiency.

It was not that long ago, when these issues were proposed to the unions, that there were comments that they were not within the scope of the protection of worker interests, with which unions are qualified to deal. For some time, fortunately, these voices have begun to be quiet. They are followed by arguments that in this sphere too, the progressive changes won by the unions will ultimately have an effect on a higher standard of living for working people. And this is certainly what our society wants most now.

#### Real Partnership

With this in mind, it seems unions are beginning to better see the new role they will have to play in order to maintain their position, not fall short of society's hopes and not lose the position for which they have fought. One of the proofs of this is the questionnaire which the OPZZ recently compiled and plans to distribute to federations and plant union organizations. Its subject is an issue that is provoking a significant difference of opinion in the unions, namely the scope and forms of reaction to price increases.

No one questions the right of the unions to express their opinion on the government proposals regarding the cost of living, earnings and the people's level of consumption. Rather the point is whether unions should get involved with every price increase or merely see that the price increases are in accordance with previously negotiated determinations adopted by the National Annual Plan.

The idea for the questionnaire did not come out of then air, for as it turns out thus far in practice, after every price increase, the OPZZ and the federations were deluged with letters, who authors often placed the blame for the timing and scale of the increases on the labor unions.

In November of this year, the OPZZ's Second Assembly will meet. Preparations are moving gradually and discussion on the position and role of unions in our socio-political landscape is gradually gathering speed. The targeted problems and dilemmas that appeared in the first phase of discussions give rise to the hope that within the next few months, the unions will be able to find a prescription for their current ills and an appropriate course for development. This course, it seems, given the country's limited economic resources, more now than ever should aim in the direction of participation in the creation of well-being. The responsibility of management in the workplace is giving the unions all the help they can in their action in this field.

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#### OPZZ ON COLLECTIVE LABOR ORGANIZATIONS

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 11 Mar 86 pp 1,2

[Article by Daniela Sielska: "Unionists on Collective Organizations: Deliberations of the OPZZ Executive Committee"]

[Text] The closing session of the OPZZ Executive Committee took place yesterday, 10 March, at the Ship Repair Yard in Gdansk. Representatives of coastal industries participated in the meeting. Also present were government representatives, including the minister of labor, wages and social affairs, Stanislaw Gebala.

The bill to amend Chapter 11 of the Labor Code on collective labor organizations was discussed. As we know, negotiations on this issue, which have been under way for some time, have exposed the differences between government and union positions. But as a result of these negotiations, the two sides have come closer together on many issues. However, they were unable to reach complete agreement, as evidenced by yesterday's discussions.

Wieslaw Radzikowski presented the union position. He summarized discussions thus far, which dealt, among other things, with whether the organizations are to regulate wage issues and what their relationship is to be to the plant compensation systems operating in many industries. The union side also opted to maintain current trade privileges which, in the opinion of the government side, are not related to productivity. The unions also reject the claim that the organizations are not in keeping with economic reform, since trade contracts would define minimum premiums only, while plant agreements would specify those values appropriate to the plant's financial resources. The union movement maintains that collective organizations could contribute to regulating the wage system and other elements associated with labor relations. In the unions' opinion, work on the bill has gone on too long and the government side is making changes in what would seem to be already agreed upon proposals.

Speaking for the government, minister Stanislaw Gebala said that the work on collective organizations has an innovative nature in the light of the totally different rules on which our economy operates. It would be necessary to find answers to many questions, such as how to fit these new legal solutions into the system of laws related to reform and what the role of collective

organizations is to be under conditions of independence, autonomy and self-financing by the plants. It would be necessary to adopt solutions ensuring conformity to the socio-economic policy introduced by the government and defined by the National Socio-Economic Plan. When the collective units come into being, one should not set one's hopes on an automatic wage and premium increase, since these must be tied to established resources. The draft presented to the unions dated 6 March 1986 takes into consideration most of the union demands and is enlarged by the proposals added to it at the government session.

Waclaw Martyniuk commented on the bill for the union group. His remarks dealt with several specific points which unionists interpret differently. The proposed effective date of the law on organizations, 1 January 1987, was also not agreed upon.

Alfred Miodowicz, who chaired the conference, said that the union position on collective labor organizations is often mistakenly interpreted. For the union movement is vitally interested in the organizations' becoming an important catalyst for economic reform and plant agreements their most important element. One also cannot expect wage increases from the organizations; in essence they will be based on the rule of tying wages to productivity and funds generated. That is why a further delay in sending the draft to the Sejm, which in effect will decide its ultimate form, is unwarranted. The collective organizations are, so to speak, the union constitution, said Alfred Miodowicz.

The OPZZ Executive Committee yesterday passed a resolution adopting the draft of 6 March 1986 as final, with the comments submitted by the union group, thereby also viewing negotiations as concluded. In addition it demands the law be effective 1 July 1986. In the event of non-acceptance of these determinations, it will exercise the rights contained in Chapter 5 of the law on labor unions. This chapter, entitled "Collective disputes," says that if negotiations do not lead to a resolution of a dispute, either side may demand the initiation of arbitration proceedings.

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#### PZPR CONGRESS DELEGATES SELECTED AT FACTORY CONFERENCES

##### Gdansk Shipyards on Shortages

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 22-23 Mar 86 p 2

[Excerpts] Much attention was paid at the factory conferences to the problems contained in the plan for the party program; delegates to the 10th PZPR Congress were selected.

The factory conference of the party organization at the "Lenin" Shipyard in Gdansk began after work was completed on the first shift. The majority of the delegates, elected in the shipyard POP [primary party organization] and OOP [branch party organization], attended the conference directly from the ship building slips, the equipment factories and auxiliary production divisions.

The conference was held in the same hall which has been the scene of many political and social events important to the country in recent years.

Also participating at the shipyard conference were -- Stanislaw Kalkus, member of the Political Bureau of the KC [Central Committee] of the PZPR, and Stanislaw Bejger, deputy member of the Political Bureau of the KC, first secretary of the KW [Provincial Committee] in Gdansk.

Economic matters were the main topic of discussion. The necessity for a rigorous association of wages with quality, work efficiency, and the level of competence, knowledge and responsibility was stressed in almost every remark.

Exports are important, but -- asserted the shipworkers -- we will not pay our debts with raw materials. We must develop foreign sales of advanced technical products and boldly create a Polish export specialty. However, to finish their tasks, especially for foreign contracting parties, the Gdansk shipyard lacks 11,000 tons of sheetmetal, 100 km of pipe, dozens of cranes, hatches, furniture and ship doors, and the situation is probably similar in other shipyards. In the opinion of the discussants this indicates either a lack of an economic strategy or that such a strategy is being ignored.

Another group of problems concerns social issues, primarily apartment construction.

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A great deal of attention was paid to organizational questions, especially expanding the ranks of members. An example of this is the 51 candidates accepted last year and the 10 given candidate cards during the session of the conference.

All suggestions and remarks at the shipyard conference, which lasted several hours, were contained in the resolution passed by the delegates. Two participants were chosen as delegates for the 10th Congress: Wiktor Borouch, first secretary of the KZ PZPR and Marian Truszkowski, a master from the K-2 division, ten persons received mandates for the provincial conference and 40 for the regional conference.

#### Debica 'Stomil' Workers

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 22-23 Mar 86 p 2

[Text] How the party organization should participate in the life of the "Stomil" Automobile Tire Factories and how it is to inspire positive changes in the production process and social activities for the work crews were topics of discussion on the 21st of this month during the pre-congress factory conference of the party organization.

Stanislaw Opalko, member of the Political Bureau of the KC PZPR, raised these issues and other socio-economic matters in his opening remarks.

The conference ended with the election of the first provincial delegate from Tarnow for the 10th Party Congress. The 44-year-old Tadeusz Fornal, the commandant of the factory firemen and a party activist, became the representative of the 650-person "Stomil" factory organization.

During the conference 11 young workers were issued cards as candidates and members of the PZPR.

Wladyslaw Loranc -- the director of the Ideological Division of the KC PZPR, participated in the conference.

#### 'Warski' Shipyards Confirm Status Quo

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 24 Mar 86 pp 1-2

[Excerpts] The pre-congress conferences of factory party organizations elected their delegates for the 10th PZPR Congress. Discussions of the plan for the party program were summarized and matters concerning the factories and the country were debated at the conferences.

The main auditorium of the Adolf Warski Shipyard in Szczecin can remember several stormy and often dramatic political events in the life of the more than 9,000-person work crew. I was the journalistic witness to many of them.

Barely 5 years have passed, and so much has already changed at this, the largest industrial factory on the Western shoreline. The motto of this session of the conference is "Technical and organizational progress based on



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efficient work--the source of shipworker satisfaction." The shipyard party organization has been strengthened in numbers and quality; it has gained authority among the workers and become the causative force of the development of the enterprise and of its success after 1981, an authentic guiding force among the work crew.

There were several speakers on the rostrum. Kazimierz Barcikowski added his voice to theirs, speaking about the future of the Polish ship industry. He stated that its projected development lies in the hands of the shipworkers themselves. Whether we can keep our hold on being exporters of ships in the future in the harsh competitive battle on the freight market will depend on to what extent we can command the highest level of world technology.

Elections of delegates from the 1500 person shipyard organization to the city and provincial conferences and to the 10th Congress took place in this same atmosphere of responsibility and productivity. The delegates to the pre-congress provincial conference are: member of the of the Political Bureau of the KC, deputy chief of the Council of State -- Kazimierz Barcikowski and first secretary of the KW -- Stanislaw Miskiewicz. A longtime and industrious shipworker, first secretary of the KZ [Factory Committee] of the PZPR, Zenon Pyde, was elected delegate to the 10th Congress.

#### Coal Mine Criticizes Program Draft

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 24 Mar 86 p 2

[Text] To what extent do our present experiences determine our future? The answer to this question came shortly after the beginning of the pre-congress PZPR factory conference in the "Lenin" KWK in Myslowice-Wesola. Henryk Hojczyk, first secretary of of the KZ, stated: the results of the discussion of the plan of the party program are unequivocal. Those assembled are not certain whether the goals in the economic sphere to the year 2000 are realistic. They want the congress to adopt a program within the parameters of realistic possibilities...

"We are not pessimists"-- Eugeniusz Starzak, first secretary of OOP No 17 and youth activist, stated emphatically -- "but it is our obligation to warn against eventual, excessive optimism. There are barely 15 years left until the year 2000. Despite appearances this is not much time. Can we succeed in attaining so much growth in national income and consumption, such momentum in constructing apartments and such consistency in conserving fuel and energy? Few know better than miners that the basis for economic development is energy and its sufficiency. However, the demand for coal is part of this, and the possibilities for producing it are only as great as they are."

Not by accident did Jozef Antonoszak direct the flow of the discussion to what is going on in mining circles. It begins with the fact that young miners, including graduates of trade schools, are not prepared to deal with modern technology in the mines. They also conduct themselves poorly in the specialist repair shops. Here we must search for supplies to lessen the damage to tools, and at the same time achieve or improve thrift.

It is not just here. Piotr Palka, electrician, is convinced that the utilization and efficiency of tools is not dependent on the frequency of repairs, but on how people use them from day to day, and this should be attended to by the miners.

Andrzej Ptasinski of the energy-machine division of the OOP shares this opinion, but how can it be done -- he asks -- when all of the machines and tools are essential for service? However, he took up another topic -- the deteriorating conditions of work underground. The faces and the longwalls get farther and farther away from the shafts, access to them takes quite a bit of time, which they do not have if they are to meet their work quotas. People hurry, are nervous, under stress, and because of this run a greater risk of accidents.

The work of miners to establish free Saturdays for themselves awakened further emotion. Henryk Hodup, union activist, knows full well that the national economy could not do without the more than 30 million tons of coal that the miners produce annually on Saturdays. But why this "seesawing?" -- he asks. At the beginning of the year it was established that work on these days would be voluntary, later it became mandatory.

In a secret ballot they elected a delegate for the upcoming 10th Party Congress. He is Waldemar Dziubek, first secretary of the machine division of the OOP.

#### Program Draft Impractical

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 24 Mar 86 p 2

[Excerpts] "The tasks of the party organization have not diminished. We must deal with many delays and weaknesses. Problems are mounting up, and we have barely begun to solve them. Therefore there is no place for self-satisfaction", stated the first secretary of the KZ, Ryszard Gurbiel, as he opened the pre-congress conference in the City Communication Enterprise in Cracow on the 22d of this month.

Many comments were aimed directly at the plan for the PZPR Program. It was anxiously stated that it contains practically no reference to problems of city communications, whose development is a multi-phased operation demanding the participation of many divisions of the national economy and initiating production of new technical means.

During the pre-congress conference the experiences of the enterprise took on a general social aspect.

Speaking at the end of the session, Hieronim Kubiak, member of the Political Bureau of the KC, stressed the significance of the new payment system initiated by the party organization, which is a model for other city communications enterprises in the country.

The conference elected a delegate for the 10th Party Congress. He is Wladyslaw Michalski, who has distinguished himself in his work and is an energetic youth activist.

During the conference eight party candidate and nine member cards were issued.

#### PAN Issues Critique of Program Draft

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 24 Mar 86 p 2

[Text] An institute conference of delegates of the basic party organizations of the Polish Academy of Sciences took place on the 22d of this month. Among other guests at the conference were: the director of the Science Division of the KC PZPR, Witold Nawrocki, the deputy director of the Division of Science, Education and Technological Progress of the KC PZPR, Alfred Stoka, the minister for matters concerning religion, Adam Lopatka, and the minister-director of the Scientific and Technological Progress Administration, Konrad Tott.

In opening this session of the conference, the first secretary of the KZ PZPR PAN, Dr Jerzy Pyrgala, stated that the discussion up to this time of the plan for the party program had concentrated on those points in the document which have caused the most controversy in the scientific community, which might seem to make the discussion seem one-sided, only critical. However, they are merely suggestions, proposals for changes to perfect the essential contents of this document.

Among others, reservations were voiced about the section devoted to economic problems. There is a lack of realistic, concrete, initial facts and of an objective, concise analysis of the actual state of the economy. It was postulated that a program for scientific development be directly attached to the section devoted to socio-economic development. There is still time -- in the opinion of the discussants -- to enrich the substance of the party program by entering the resolutions of the Third Congress of Polish Science, especially in the area of the scientific policy of the state.

In the opinion of the scientists there needs to be a clear entry in the program on church-state relationships and also on party-church-religion relationships. Moreover, the formulation on personnel policy in light of the 13th Plenum of the KC was considered unsatisfactory, they were disturbed at the ambitions of the basic organizations in forming and creating party personnel.

They raised criticism of the motto "to have and to be," considering it politically harmful. We must propagate a program which will make possible the full development of the individuality of each citizen and take care of his needs, but not the other way around.

The conference elected its delegate to the 10th PZPR Congress. He is Dr Jerzy Pyrgala, the director the Primeval History Department of the Warsaw Institute of Material History of the PAN. Delegates were also elected for the Warsaw and regional conferences.

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 26 Mar 86 p 2

[Text] We must take advantage of the period before the PZPR congress to improve the work of the party lest the party program become a collection of promises without effects. Each problem well and justly solved does more for our credibility than the most beautiful banner; this was said on the 25th of this month.

One hundred eighteen delegates representing a party organization of 1147 members took part in the factory PZPR conference at the "Makoszowy" mine in Zabrze.

The workers, giving concrete examples (the development of the small-goods sector, expansion of the Polonia firms, the creation of a financial elite), point to the frequent discrepancies between the Marxist-Leninist value system and everyday practices -- it was said. They also spoke about law and order and fighting against social pathology.

The mandate for delegate to the 10th Party Congress was given to Zygmunt Lehmann, timberer, a member of the party for 10 years, an activist of the factory organization of ZSMP [Union of Socialist Polish Youth], recently named second secretary of the KZ PZPR.

On the same day the PZPR factory conference in the "Red Guard" KWK took place in Czeladze. Much attention was paid to the Leninist norms of party activity. They reminded themselves, among other things, that the essential issue is the quality of party personnel.

During the conference 14 cards were issued to candidates who entered the party this year. Janusz Piotrowski, age 36, a timberer from the G-3 underground division, was elected delegate to the congress. Jerzy Romanik participated in the sessions.

Zbigniew Hanf, age 48, mine rescue worker, member of the KC PZPR and union activist, was elected delegate to the 10th Party Congress from the "Staszic" KWK in Katowice. During the party conference in this mine cards were issued to 36 members and candidates of the PZPR.

#### Gdynia, Sosnowiec, Cracow Selections

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 27 Mar 86 p 2

[Excerpts] In the discussion which unfolded at the party conference at the "Paris Commune" Shipyard in Gdynia, they spoke about the setbacks of the shipyard, to which the present stagnation in the world ship industry contributes.

In the end the Gdynia "Commune" did not sell three completed units to foreign shipowners last year. The reason for this was the loss of credit with the NBP [National Bank of Poland]. Their financial obligations, including those for



the PAZ [Vocational Mobilization and Retraining Fund], were higher than their profits from the sale of two ships and five hulls. Another matter is that the shipyard itself -- Wlodzimierz Paradowski, welder from the the K-2 Hull Division, stated -- did not meet the contract schedules for two ships. This unreliability in completing their concrete tasks results to a significant degree from material shortages, carelessness and, unfortunately, frequent breeches in work discipline. Many stated that those who disregard their work duties should be severely punished.

Participants at the conference together with Stanislaw Bejger charged the leadership and the self-government of the workers with working out a program of activity more effective than heretofore. In speaking of the new plan for the party program, Boleslaw Tarnacki, chief technologist, stated among other things that it is of primary importance to scrupulously evaluate the realizations of the resolutions passed by the Ninth Special Congress of the PZPR.

A delegate was elected by secret ballot to the 10th Congress. He is a tracer from the K-3 Hull Division, Kazimierz Drozdziel, age 43, who has worked at the Gdynia "Commune" since 1966, with 14 years of party training, who presently performs the function of second secretary of the OOP.

The center of everyone's attention was directed toward the primary interests of Poland in light of the party program, which should indicate a road toward socio-economic and political development in the coming years; this must be one of the basic tasks of the the party sections and organizations in the pre-congress campaign. This thought was continually expressed by the delegates participating in the PZPR Factory Conference at the "Niwka-Modrzejow" Anthracite Coal Mine in Sosnowiec on the 26th of this month. The party does not stand beside but among society -- Boguslaw Gajowka, one of the participants in the conference, stressed this in his opening remarks, pointing to the profound changes which have taken place in the country since the Ninth PZPR Congress. The style of party discussions has changed. No one accepts constant agreement. The necessity of criticism is both valuable and acceptable.

Albin Siwak took part in the conference and, in answer to questions raised, stressed the significance of personal activity and engagement of party members in matters of the workplace, the environment, the region and the country. For we still encounter instances of passivity and waiting for decisions and intervention from above in matters whose solutions depend on the activity of basic party organizations.

Choosing from three candidates, participants in the conference gave the mandate for delegate to the 10th PZPR Congress to Boleslaw Harazin, age 53, general mine foreman for shaft administration, whose entire work experience has been in this mine. His work was supplemented by active participation first in the youth organization and then in the ZPR. In the past he was the first secretary of the KZ; when he was chosen as a delegate to the Ninth PZPR Special Congress he became a member of the KC PZPR.

The problem of wage arrangements in our country demands a careful solutions so that wages be associated with work actually completed and its quality. There is too much arbitrariness in the wages at present. These words were said on the 26th of this month by Stanislaw Nowak, secretary of the PZPR Factory Committee during the session of the precongress party conference at the "St. Szadkowski" Building Machine and Equipment Factories in Cracow, which takes pride in its 180 year history.

The delegates returned to the provincial pre-congress conference to unanimously proclaim as delegate from the Cracow province to the 10th PZPR Congress, Prof Henryk Jablonski, distinguished activist of the Polish and international workers movement of Builders of Peoples Poland, president of the Social Committee for Renovating the Cracow Monuments.

#### Coal Miners on Youth Ideological Training

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 28 Mar 86 p 2

[Excerpts] The majority of the 160 delegates at the precongress PZPR factory conference in the "Siemianowice" KWK were workers. Shortly after the opening of the session 16 young people were issued candidate cards for the PZPR.

Together with them 127 candidates are applying for membership in the "Siemianowice" party organization.

"When we discussed the plan for the party program" -- said hoist machinist Wacław Bukowski "an initiative arose in our OOP that the young party members try to engage the youth, find a common language, and also find a common field of activity outside the work arena."

The party debate concerned not only the young. Many remarks were addressed to the issue of what remained for the mine to do especially so that the quality of the coal mine not deteriorate given the deteriorating mining and geological conditions of the mine.

In the thick of party matters the delegates were most concerned with the problematics of ideological training.

In the course of the conference delegates were elected to the 10th PZPR Congress by secret ballot. The 160 voters elected Jerzy Romanik (133 votes), member of the Political Bureau of the KC PZPR, mining blaster, combine operator from the G-6 extraction division, and Henryk Krzysciak (89 votes), first secretary of the OOP of the "Rozalia" region, longwall chargehand foreman.

#### Delegates at 'Bobrek' Mill, Gdansk

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 29-31 Mar 86 p 2

[Excerpts] Socio-economic problems dominated the discussion on 28 March at the pre-congress party conference in the "Bobrek" Mill in Bytom. Participants at the conference gave the mandate for delegate to the 10th PZPR

Congress to the director of the mill-- Blazej Soltysik (age 60), a party member for 27 years, director of the mill for the past 10 years.

Jerzy Romanik participated in the sessions.

At the pre-congress PZPR conference in the Gdansk Commercial Seaport the mandate for delegate to the 10th Congress was given to Klemens Pradzynski, age 52. He is a master stevedore at the 28-year stage, who has conquered every step of his worker's career. He has been a party member for 21 years and is presently also fulfilling the obligations of the economic secretary of the Trade Committee.

On 28 March at the Gdansk Repair Docks the pre-congress PZPR conference met.

During the conference its 104 participants representing the 720-person shipyard party organization (for 6000 employees) elected their delegate to the 10th PZPR Congress. Henryk Tyrala, senior master in the Ship Engine Plant, who has belonged to the PZPR since 1977, a member of trade unions, received the mandate.

12/72

CSO: 2600/396

## MOKOTOW AKTIV PRE-CONGRESS MEETING

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 20 Mar 86 p 5

["Party Meeting of Mokotow Aktiv" -- PAP report]

[Text] Problems of social justice, housing construction, and proactivism of party members were the principal topics raised on 19 [Mar 86] at an open meeting of the party aktiv of Mokotow [borough], in the capital city, attended by Member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo Albin Siwak.

Many questions directly relating to the coming 10th PZPR Congress were raised. It is precisely following that congress that the society expects many weighty decisions concerning improvements in this country's situation, according to Czeslaw Blajet, a member of the Mokotow party organization. "But the most important issue is the day-by-day activity of the party. It is not on holidays only but every day, at the workplace, on the street, and at home, that we should act in consonance with the principles of party life." A similar comment was made by Zygmunt Czerwinski, an employee of the Passenger Elevator Combine, who discussed the activities of the basic-level party elements, whose style of work is often relatively ineffective. The speaker also touched upon the problem of housing construction, observing that its proper implementation represents an important asset to the state in strengthening the trust of the rising generation which is impatiently awaiting its own dwellings. Another issue raised by Mokotow party member was the need for greater control of intraparty life.

A. Siwak took a position on the issues raised, stressing, among other things, that the proactivism of party members offers an opportunity for resolving many urgent problems of our country.

The meeting, which was held at the Passenger Elevator Combine, was attended by representatives of the Warsaw City PZPR Committee as well as of the Warsaw-Mokotow Borough PZPR Committee.

1386

CSO: 2600/355



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#### BYDGOSZCZ SELECTS DELEGATES TO TENTH PARTY CONGRESS

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 13 Mar 86 p 2

["First Delegates to 10th PZPR Congress from Bydgoszcz Province" -- PAP Report; passage within slantlines printed in boldface]

[Text] /(C) ELTRA Radio Works and the PKP [Polish State Railroads] Hub in Bydgoszcz as well as the KUJAWY Cement and Lime Combine in Bielawy commenced in Pomerania and Kujawy on 12 (Mar 86) the next stage of the pre-congress campaign -- plant conferences. The first delegates to the 10th PZPR Congress from Bydgoszcz Province were elected./

The conference at ELTRA was attended by Jozef Baryla, a member of the plant party organization and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, while the conference at the PKP Hub was attended by PZPR Central Committee Politburo Member Albin Siwak.

Nearly 90 delegates representing close to 700 members and candidate members of the PZPR in ELTRA focused in their discussions on, chiefly, economic problems, continuing at the forum of the conference the principal topics of discussions at branch party organizations as well as of private discussions.

J. Baryla took part in the discussion, declaring that the current period of reflections on national and domestic issues is to contribute to formulating a party program that would reflect the collective wisdom of the entire nation. But a good program is only one-half of the task, and its accomplishment will depend on millions of Poles, and on their work, which will be decisive to the prospects of socialist Poland. "This battle for the future will not be won by anyone 'at the top'; it is under way among us, in many planes."

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Problems of accelerating this country's development received considerable attention from the participants in the plant party conference at the PKP Hub.

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The first delegates to the 10th PZPR Congress to be elected in Bydgoszcz Province were: Henryk Kazmierczyk, foreman at ELTRA; Adam Szozepaniak, train

director from Bydgoszcz; and Tadeusz Rucinski, chairman of the Technology and Innovation Club at the KUJAWY Cement and Lime Combine.

At ELTRA the mandate of a delegate to the province conference was received by J. Baryla.

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CSO: 2600/350

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## POLITICS

## POLAND

## PZPR ARTISTS GROUP MEETS, DEFINES ROLE

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 14 Mar 86 p 2

["Role and Place of Plastic Arts" -- PAP Report; passages within **italics** printed in boldface]

[Text] /At the Center for Contemporary Art in Ujazdowski Castle in Warsaw, the caucus of PZPR plastic artists ended on 13 [Mar 86] its 2-day deliberations, devoted to evaluating the status of the work to open this pioneering cultural center in our country and the preparations of party-member plastic artists for the 10th PZPR Congress as well as discussing broadly conceived problems of creativity, of its popularization and social importance./

/But while it stressed its gratification over the establishment of the Center for Contemporary Art and the commencement of its activities/, the group of PZPR plastic artists declared at the same time that the implementation of this concept /continues to encounter various difficulties that, as was stated, are chiefly attributable to bureaucratic resistance by administrative agencies./ The group will do everything possible for the problems of the Center for Contemporary Art to be properly discussed during preparations for the 10th PZPR Congress -- especially in Warsaw and at the Warsaw delegate-electing conference, as well as at the congress itself. According to the members of the group, the PZPR Program should name the Center among institutions of national importance in the part of the Program pertaining to tasks that determine the future of our culture.

/In the discussion much attention was devoted to the role and place of plastic arts in the life of the society, in shaping the civic attitudes of the society, in aesthetic education, and in socialist Polish culture, and also to public participation in the nationwide debate preceding the 10th party congress./ These matters were discussed by: Grzegorz Sokolowski, Zdzislaw Glowaacki, Lech Grabowski, Franciszek Kuduk, Jan Karaszewski, Mieczyslaw Wejman, Jerzy Wisniewski, Marcell Bacciarelli, Julian Palka, Lech Leddecki, Jozef Kuszewski, and Zdzislaw Halasa.

With its replenished membership, the National Caucus of PZPR Plastic Artists elected new officers during the session. The duties of chairman were entrusted to Prof Julian Palka.

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CSO: 2600/350

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POLAND

PARTY ACTIVITIES CALENDAR 17 FEB - 1 MAR 86

Warsaw ZYCIE PARTII in Polish 12 Mar 86 p 23

[Unattributed report: "Party Chronicle: 17 Feb -- 1 Mar 86"]

[Text] Politburo Sessions:

18 Feb

-- The Politburo examined the preparations for the 10th PZPR Congress. A working draft of theses of the Central Committee for the 10th Congress was discussed.

-- The Politburo decided to transmit its comments to the Congress Commission team. The theses will be submitted to the Central Committee at its plenary session and, following their confirmation, published. Together with the draft PZPR Program, they will be the basis for the second stage of pre-Congress discussion.

19th Plenary Session of the CKKP [Central Party Control Commission]:

19 Feb

-- At a plenary session of the CKKP the tasks of control commissions ensuing from last year's experiences and in the congress campaign were discussed. The session was also attended by CKR [Central Audit Commission] Chairman Kazimierz Morawski, Central Committee Secretary Jozef Baryla and WKKP [province party control commission] chairmen. The deliberations were chaired by CKKP Chairman Jerzy Urbanski.

Conferences and Meetings:

17 Feb

-- The ANS [Academy of Social Sciences] under the PZPR commenced a regular doctoral and habilitational degree program for academic instructors. ANS President Prof Jarema Maciszewski took part in the inaugural ceremony.



19 Feb

-- Candidate Member of the Politburo and Secretary of the Central Committee Włodzimierz Mokrzyński met with the faculty of the Academy of Social Sciences under the PZPR. Political-organizational assumptions and the aims of the congress campaign were discussed.

20 Feb

-- In Warsaw was held a commemorative meeting on the 40th anniversary of the founding of the ORM [Volunteer Reserve of Citizens' Militia]. It was attended by the following representatives of central state and party authorities: Kazimierz Barciszewski, Albin Siwak, Józef Baryła, and Kazimierz Morawski.

-- The Central Committee's Commission on Women summed up its 4 years of activity and discussed problems signaled in letters to the editors of women's periodicals. Its deliberations were chaired by Politburo Member Zofia Grzyb.

20-21 Feb

-- The Central Committee's Youth Commission paid a visit to 10 Sudeten Armored Division imienia Heroes of the Soviet Army. The commission was headed by Politburo Member Tadeusz Czechowicz. Problems of the army, youth, and upbringing were discussed.

21 Feb

-- First Central Committee Secretary Wojciech Jarużelski received a delegation of the German Communist Party (DKP), headed by Presidium Member and Board Secretary of the DKP Heinz Schroeder, during its sojourn in Poland. The meeting was attended by Director of the Foreign Department under the Central Committee Ernest Kucza.

-- The Commission for Law and Legality under the Central Committee discussed the party program for shaping civic attitudes, strengthening moral values, and preventing and combatting social pathology and crime during the years 1986-1990, as well as a schedule for implementing that program. The deliberations were chaired by Central Committee Secretary Józef Baryła.

25 Feb

-- The Central Committee's Congress Commission Team for Drafting Theses for the 10th PZPR Congress held a session. Its deliberations were chaired by Politburo Member and Secretary of the Central Committee Marian Woźniak, and attended by Politburo Member Albin Siwak and Central Committee Secretary Zbigniew Michalek.

26 Feb

-- The Commission for the Protection of Public Health and Environment under the Central Committee assessed the status of the supply of medications and

bandaging materials. Its deliberations were chaired by Politburo Member Stanislaw Opalko.

-- The Commission for Proposals, Complaints and Signals from the Population under the Central Committee assessed its 4 years of activity and discussed directions of combatting social pathology. Its deliberations were chaired by Politburo Member Albin Siwak and attended by Central Committee Secretary Jozef Baryla.

-- CKR PZPR Chairman Kazimierz Morawski discussed the draft PZPR Program at a session of the Presidium of the Main Audit Commission of the ZSL [United Peasant Party].

#### At Party Echelons and Organizations:

17 Feb

-- Central Committee Secretary Jozef Baryla took part in a meeting of the worker aktiv at ELTRA Radio Works in Bydgoszcz. Respect for the law, moral norms, and the work ethic were discussed.

19 Feb

-- Politburo Member and Secretary of the Central Committee Marian Wozniak met with the party aktiv of Siedlce Province as part of the campaign on the eve of the 10th PZPR Congress.

-- Politburo Member Albin Siwak took part in the open party meeting of the WALTER Sugar Industry Cooperative of the Disabled, devoted to preparations for the 10th Congress.

20 Feb

-- The Koszalin Province PZPR Committee discussed tasks relating to the performance of the province's school system.

21 Feb

-- Politburo Member and Secretary of the Central Committee Marian Wozniak toured the R&D Center of the Bielsko-Biala FSM [Compact Car Factory] and met with the party and managerial aktiv.

-- Preparations for the 10th party congress were discussed at the Lodz TEOFILOW Textile and Haberdashery Works. Candidate Member of the Politburo and Secretary of the Central Committee Jan Glowczyk took part in the discussion.

-- The Leszno Province PZPR Committee discussed tasks of ideological-political strengthening of the party and its effective influence on the province's inhabitants.

-- The Bielsko-Biala Province PZPR Committee discussed the implementation of socioeconomic tasks in 1985 as well as purposeful activity in the economic

plane during the current year. The deliberations were attended by Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Marian Wozniak and Director of the Intraparty Management Department Antoni Gorny.

22 Feb

-- In Warsaw was held a meeting of the Executive Board of the Warsaw Province PZPR Committee with first secretaries of basic party organizations in the nation's capital and the province. The following members of the Politburo and Secretariat of the Central Committee were present: Albin Siwak, Marian Wozniak, and Wlodzimierz Mokrzyszczak.

21-22 Feb

-- In Lodz was held a meeting of the party aktiv of Lodz and Katowice provinces. Ideological, intraparty and socioeconomic aspects of the draft PZPR Program were jointly discussed. Politburo Member and First Secretary of the Lodz Province PZPR Committee Tadeusz Czechowicz attended.

24 Feb

-- The Siedlce Province PZPR Committee discussed the development of social, consumer and production services in the countryside. Its deliberations were attended by Director of the Agriculture Department under the Central Committee Stefan Zawodzinski.

25 Feb

-- In Wroclaw, at a conference of the party and managerial aktiv, tasks ensuing from the resolutions of the 23rd Central Committee Plenum concerning the implementation of economic tasks during this year were discussed. The conference was attended by the Politburo members Central Committee Secretary Tadeusz Porebski and Deputy Premier Zbigniew Szalajda.

-- In Radom, at a meeting of enterprise directors, plant party committee secretaries, and self-government and trade-union representatives, the operation of the economic reform in the province was evaluated. Among others, Politburo Member Zofia Grzyb was present.

26 Feb

-- The Wroclaw Province PZPR Committee discussed increasing the effectiveness of the party's activities. Its deliberations were attended by Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Tadeusz Porebski.

27 Feb

-- Politburo Member Zofia Grzyb and Central Committee Secretary Jozef Baryla met with workers of the WALTER Metal Plants. They discussed the need for a more resolute combatting of alcoholism and other moral menaces to the society.

-- The Slupsk Province PZPR Committee discussed major problems of education, enlightenment and socialist upbringing in the province. Its deliberations were attended by Central Committee Secretary Henryk Bednarski.

-- The Gdansk Province PZPR Committee discussed the extent of the implementation of the conservation and anti-inflation programs. Its deliberations were attended by Director of the Department of Education, Science and Technological Progress (under the Central Committee) Boguslaw Kedzia.

28 Feb

-- The Bialystok Province PZPR Committee evaluated the implementation of tasks of the 3-Year Plan in the province. Its deliberations were attended by Director of the Agriculture Department under the Central Committee Stefan Zawodzinski.

-- The Poznan Province PZPR Committee discussed problems of education and upbringing in the province's school system. Its deliberations were attended by the Director of the Department of Education, Science and Technological Progress Boguslaw Kedzia.

-- The Tarnobrzeg Province PZPR Committee discussed tasks relating to the further consolidation and greater authority and influence of the party in the community. Its deliberations were attended by Director of the Culture Department under the Central Committee Witold H-wrocki.

-- The PZPR Central Committee and the ZSL Supreme Committee at a joint session in Wabrzez evaluated the implementation of the resolutions of the 11th Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee and the ZSL Supreme Committee in the province. Their deliberations were attended by PZPR Central Committee Secretary Zbigniew Michalek and ZSL Supreme Committee Secretary Kazimierz Olesiak.

-- Politburo Member Albin Siwak took part in a meeting of the party aktiv in Zyrardow at which preparations for the 10th party congress were discussed.

1 Mar

-- The Tarnow Province PZPR Committee evaluated the effectiveness so far of ideological work within the province party organization. Its deliberations were attended by Director of the Ideology Department under the Central Committee Wladyslaw Lorenc.

Interparty Cooperation:

17 Feb

-- Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Jozef Czerwinski met with the delegation of the German Communist Party, headed by Presidium Member and Board Secretary Kurt Heins Schroeder, during its sojourn in Poland.



18 Feb

-- Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Jozef Czyrek met with the delegation of the Commission for Foreign Affairs under the People's National Assembly of the Algerian People's Democratic Republic, headed by Commission Chairman Abdelkader Bensalah, during its sojourn in Poland.

19 Feb

-- Secretary General of the Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachev met on Wednesday with Member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo and Chairman of the PRL Council of Ministers Zbigniew Messner, during his sojourn in the USSR on an official friendship visit.

-- Politburo Member, Central Committee Secretary, and Chairman of the Caucus of PZPR Sejm Deputies Tadeusz Porebski received a delegation of the Popular Assembly of People's Power headed by its vice chairman Severo Aguirre del Cristo. The meeting was attended by Director of the Office for Sejm Affairs under the Central Committee Edward Szymanski.

24 Feb

-- The PZPR delegation to the 27th CPSU Congress, headed by First PZPR Central Committee Secretary and Chairman of the Council of State Wojciech Jaruzelski, arrived in Moscow. The delegation includes: Politburo Member and Chairman of the PRL Council of Ministers Zbigniew Messner, Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Jozef Czyrek, and Politburo Member Jerzy Romanik, as well as the PRL Ambassador to the USSR Wlodzimierz Natorf.

27 Feb

-- At the PRL Embassy in Moscow was held the ceremony of awarding the Grand Cross of the Order of Poland's Rebirth to the Member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and Chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Andrey Gromyko. The decoration was conferred by First PZPR Central Committee Secretary and Chairman of the PRL Council of State Wojciech Jaruzelski.

23-27 Feb

-- The delegation of the Hungarian Socialist Worker Party, headed by Laszlo Fallai, the director of the economic department of that party's central committee, sojourned in Poland. Toward the end of that sojourn Laszlo Ballai was received by Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Marian Wozniak.

28 Feb

-- The PZPR Delegation to the 27th CPSU Congress, headed by First PZPR Central Committee Secretary Wojciech Jaruzelski, toured Vilna, the capital of Soviet Lithuania.

1 Mar

-- The members of the PZPR Delegation to the 27th CPSU Congress, Jozef Czyrek, Jerzy Romanik, and the PRL Ambassador Wlodzimierz Natorf, met with the party aktiv of the PRL Embassy and of the Polish missions and community in Moscow.

POLITICS

POLAND

PARTY ACTIVITIES CALENDAR 3-16 MARCH 86

Warsaw ZYCIE PARTII in Polish 26 Mar 86 p 23

[Unattributed report: "Party Chronicle: 3-16 March 1986"]

[Text] 25th PZPR Plenum:

13-14 Mar

-- The 25th plenary session of the PZPR Central Committee deliberated in Warsaw with the object of adopting theses for the 10th PZPR Congress and evaluating the implementation of the recommendations of the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress concerning the party's cadre policy.

Sessions of the Central Committee Politburo:

11 Mar

-- The Politburo considered the report of the PZPR delegation to the 27th CPSU Congress. It evaluated the implementation of recommendations of the Ninth PZPR Congress concerning cadre policy, as well as the practical application of the principles contained in the main assumptions of cadre policy.

-- The Politburo examined the accomplishments of the Third Congress of Polish Science and recommended their proper utilization in the work of party echelons and organizations.

Conferences and Meetings:

5-7 Mar

-- The Third Congress of Polish Science was held in Warsaw. Its deliberations were attended by the following members of the Politburo and Secretariat of the Central Committee: Zbigniew Messner, Kazimierz Barcikowski, Tadeusz Czechowicz, Zofia Grzyb, Hieronim Kubiak, Stanislaw Opalko, Tadeusz Porebski, Albin Siwak, Marian Orzechowski, Florian Siwicki, and Zbigniew Michalek. On the third day of the Congress First Central Committee Secretary Wojciech Jaruzelski attended.

5 Mar

-- In Warsaw was held a seminar for council chairmen and presidents of the boards of WZ RSP [Province Board of Agricultural Producer Cooperatives]. Concluding the seminar, Central Committee Secretary Zbigniew Michalek discussed the principal problems of agriculture and the countryside as considered in the draft PZPR Program.

5-6 Mar

-- A national training conference was held for 120 first secretaries of plant party committees and basic party organizations at construction enterprises. Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Marian Wozniak met with the conference participants.

6 Mar

-- The Commission for Representative Bodies and Self-Governments under the Central Committee discussed the fifth part of the draft PZPR Program, concerning the development of the socialist political system. The next item on its agenda was the performance of party members in rural cooperative bodies. The Commission also listened to reports on the so-called territorial special divisions and their effect on the performance of party elements. In connection with changes in membership of the Central Committee's commissions, as adopted at the 24th Central Committee Plenum, Candidate Member of the Politburo and Secretary of the Central Committee Wlodzimierz Mokrzyrzyszczak requested to be relieved of the post of Commission chairman. Politburo Member and Vice Chairman of the Council of State Kazimierz Barcikowski was elected the new chairman of the Commission.

7 Mar

-- On the eve of the International Day of Women First Central Committee Secretary and Chairman of the Council of State Wojciech Jaruzelski was hosted by the POLFA Tarchomin Pharmaceutical Works, visited female inhabitants of the Village of Zawody, Radzymin Gmina, and paid a visit to the faculty and female students of Teacher Training Center No 1 in Warsaw.

-- A meeting of PRON [Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth] signatories was held. The text of the resolutions adopted by the National Council regarding the status and prospects for a national accord and the directions of further action of the PRON movement prior to the Congress were discussed. On behalf of the PZPR the meeting was attended by Jozef Czyrek, Marian Orzechowski, and Jerzy Jaskiernia.

-- The PZPR Caucus, consisting of the party members sitting in the central echelons of youth organizations, held a meeting. The coordination of activities prior to the 10th PZPR Congress was discussed. Central Committee Secretary Waldemar Swirgon and Director of the Department for Youth, Physical Culture, and Tourism under the Central Committee Leszek Miller, took part in the deliberations.

9 Mar

-- The two-day meeting of chairmen of PRON province councils dealing with problems of moral renaissance of the society, legality, national accord on issues crucial to national welfare, and the program tasks of the movement prior to the Second PRON Congress, came to an end. The meeting was attended by Central Committee Secretary Jozef Baryla.

11 Mar

-- The Intraparty Commission under the Central Committee discussed the size and composition of PZPR membership in 1985 and accepted the report on the Commission's activities during the period from the Ninth Congress until the end of February of this year. Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Tadeusz Porebski chaired the deliberations.

12 Mar

-- Central Committee Secretary Zbigniew Michalek received the principal officers of the National Council for Worker-Tended Land Plots.

-- The 20th anniversary of the death of Boleslaw Bierut was commemorated at the Communal Cemetery in Warsaw. A wreath on behalf of the PZPR Central Committee was laid by a delegation headed by Candidate Member of the Politburo and Secretary of the Central Committee Wladzimierz Mokrzyszczak and Secretary of the Central Committee Henryk Bednarski.

14 Mar

-- A session of the Congress Commission Team was held to work on the PZPR Program. Its deliberations were chaired by Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Jozef Czyrek. The progress of the Team's work on the draft PZPR Program was discussed.

15 Mar

-- Preparations for the 10th PZPR Congress in the light of the 25th Central Committee Plenum were the subject of a meeting between Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Marian Wozniak and Director of Cadre Policy Department under the Central Committee Wladyslaw Honkisz, on the one hand, and the press, radio, and TV correspondents accredited in Poland, as well as the press attaches of the embassies of the countries concerned, on the other.

At Party Echelons and Organizations:

3 Mar

-- Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Tadeusz Porebski took part in a conference of representatives of the academic community in Rzeszlow, dealing with the implementation of resolutions of the 24th Central Committee Plenum.



6 Mar

-- The Lomza Province PZPR Committee discussed the role and tasks of the intelligentsia in nurturing the ideological-upbringing aspects of work. The deliberations were attended by Director of the Socio-Occupational Department under the Central Committee Stanislaw Gabrielski and Deputy Director of the Ideology Department under the Central Committee Janusz Janicki.

12 Mar

-- Central Committee Secretary Jozef Baryla took part in the pre-Congress conference at the ELTRA Bydgoszcz Radio Works.

-- Politburo Member Albin Siwak took part in the pre-Congress conference at the Bydgoszcz PKP [Polish State Railroads] Hub.

13 Mar

-- The Bydgoszcz Province PZPR Committee discussed the tasks of the province party organization in developing physical culture and tourism and strengthening their ideological-upbringing role. Its deliberations were attended by Director of the Department for Youth, Physical Culture, and Tourism under the Central Committee Leszek Miller.

15 Mar

-- A pre-Congress conference of PZPR members at the Olsztyn PKP Hub was held. Machinist-instructor Stanislaw Radowiecki was elected as a delegate to the 10th PZPR Congress. The delegates to the province pre-Congress conference in Olsztyn included Wlodzimierz Mokrzyszczak.

#### Interparty Cooperation:

4 Mar

-- The PZPR delegation to the 27th CPSU Congress, headed by First Central Committee Secretary Wojciech Jaruzelski, met at the Polish embassy in Moscow with personnel of Polish missions in the capital of the Land of the Soviets. The meeting was attended by the Politburo members and Central Committee secretaries Jozef Czyrek and Jerzy Romanik as well as by the Ambassador of the Polish People's Republic Wlodzimierz Natorf.

6 Mar

-- In Moscow First PZPR Central Committee Secretary Wojciech Jaruzelski held a number of talks with heads of foreign delegations to the 27th CPSU Congress. First Central Committee Secretary met with Secretary General of the Yemen Socialist Party Ali Sal Beyda. In addition, he received the following: Vice Coordinator of the Executive Commission of the National Leadership of the Sandino National Liberation Front of Nicaragua B. Arse Castanho; Secretary of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Union

of Communists of Yugoslavia Dimce Belorski; and Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary of the French CP Gaston Plissonier.

5-7 Mar

-- In Warsaw was held a regular meeting of the PZPR-SPD [German Socialist Party] Group for Strengthening Trust. Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Jozef Czyrek received the PZPR-SPD working group headed by its co-chairmen R. Wojna and H. Ehme.

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POLITICS

POLAND

#### COUNCIL OF PRIESTS MEETS, ELECTIONS HELD

Warsaw PRZEGLAD KATOLICKI in Polish No 12, 23 Mar 86 p 4

[Text] The Priests' Council of the Warsaw Archdiocese met at Archbishops' House in February during the first session of the second term.

Elections to the council were held at the end of last year. The elections are two-staged--candidates are agreed upon in the deaconates and the candidates elect 16 priests (and four alternates) from among themselves; the remaining priests and bishops go to the council by virtue of holding an office or by nomination by the primate (from 32 to 36 people total, according to statute).

The chairman of the council is Cardinal Jozef Glemp, as ordinary, and his assistant is Bishop Wladyslaw Miziolek.

At the first session the secretariat, consisting of Revs Zdzislaw Krol (secretary), Jerzy Zalewski, Stanislaw Kedziora and Wieslaw Kalisiak, parish priest in Anina, was established.

The Priests' Council fulfills an advisory function, supporting its bishop.

After council elections the primate appointed the College of Advisors, which in accordance with the Code of Canon Law and the decisions of the Polish Episcopate, has assumed most of the responsibilities of the Metropolitan Chapter.

Archbishop Bronislaw Dabrowski, Bishops Jerzy Modzelewski, Wladyslaw Miziolek, Zbigniew Kraszewski, Kazimierz Romaniuk and Revs Stanislaw Kur, seminary rector; Zdzislaw Krol, chancellor of the curia; Jerzy Zalewski, pastor of the cathedral; Jerzy Wasiak, pastor of St. Jacob Parish in Skierniewice and Stanislaw Kedziora, pastor of All Saints Parish, currently belong to the College of Advisors.

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POLITICS

POLAND

PRIESTS HEAVILY FINED FOR SCHOOL STRIKE ROLE

Warsaw PRZEGLAD KATOLICKI in Polish No 12, 23 Mar 86 p 4

[Text] The diocesan press office in Kielce has published the following communique (No 14):

"Two vicars in Wloszczowa, Revs Marek Labuda and Andrzej Wilczynski, sentenced by a judgment in criminal court in Jedrzejow and Kielce to imprisonment with conditional suspension of the sentence and major fines for--as has been determined--'organizing and directing a protest action in the technical schools complex in Wloszczowa from 3 to 16 December 1984' recently received the following message from the provincial school superintendent's office in Kielce:

'Seal: OM IVA-1940/3/86

'Date: 1986-02-19

'Citizen Marek Labuda, 29-100 Wloszczowa, Partyzantow Street. We summon the citizen to regular payment, along with Citizen Andrzej Wilczynski, of the sum of 973,394 zloty (nine hundred seventy-three thousand, three hundred ninety-four zloty) as liability for material damages resulting from the occupation of the technical schools complex building in Wloszczowa from 3 to 16 December, 1984.

'The amount due must be paid to Account No 29203-518-225 at the Polish National Bank in Wloszczowa or to the school's treasury within 14 days of the receipt of this summons.

'Non-payment of the aforementioned sum by the date specified will result in bringing this matter on for legal proceedings.

'Superintendent of education and upbringing (Jan Faras, MA).'

(. . .) Rev Stanislaw Surma, director of the diocesan press office."

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POLITICS

POLAND

#### PROSECUTOR CLAIMS SACRED BUILDINGS ILL-PROTECTED

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 28 Mar 86 p 6

[Text] In the past four years a total of nearly 2,400 burglaries and robberies of church buildings, mostly churches and chapels, were committed. The perpetrators of 1,530 of them were apprehended. Prosecutor Ryszard Kijok of the Prosecutor General's office, told a PAP journalist about the problems of prosecuting this kind of crime:

"The action of the Citizens' Militia (MO) and the prosecutor's office in finding the perpetrators of church burglaries is marked by considerable efficiency, which is corroborated by the fact that the so-called detection indicator in these cases--according to data for the period from 1981 to the first half of 1985--is 66.6 percent, thus significantly surpassing the results of investigations in other categories of crime. The material losses to church institutions are difficult to assess because of the often historical, antique value of the stolen articles. Recovering stolen goods is often impossible too, because articles of gold and silver are almost immediately melted down, while others that do not contain these metals are simply discarded in hard to reach places.

"Investigating a burglary of a church building is always preceded by the initiation of searches on a national scale. They involve many people and much technical equipment. In 1984-85, 476 people, including seven former altar boys, were indicted. The courts sentenced 395 of those charged. For example, on 31 December 1985, the provincial prosecutor in Kielce brought an indictment against an organized 13-person criminal group, charging them with committing numerous burglaries and robberies of church buildings throughout the country. From November 1982 to September 1983 they burglarized 14 churches, stealing religious articles often of significant antique value.

"In 1984 a similar group was caught in Slupsk and the district court there sentenced the defendants to 9 to 12 years' imprisonment. On 30 September 1985 the provincial prosecutor in Lodz brought an indictment against seven people charged with 19 counts of damage to church buildings. The court sentenced them to 11 to 13 years imprisonment and fines of several hundred thousand zloty. Also sentenced were the fences who disposed of the stolen articles.

"The provincial prosecutor in February of this year brought an indictment against a group of people who had burglarized church buildings in Jawor in Legno Province and the Gniezno Cathedral. An antique silver candlestick, valued at at least 3.7 million zloty, was stolen from the main altar of the cathedral. The main perpetrators were sentenced to 10 and 12 years' imprisonment and fines of 600,000 zloty each.

"It is also worth noting that the MO has recovered a painting of major material and antique value entitled "The Lamentation of Christ," stolen four years ago from the Archdiocesan Museum in Poznan. Prosecutors applied summary arrest against all the perpetrators who were apprehended.

"Church buildings should be better protected against robbers. In the course of preliminary and court proceedings, it was determined that the perpetrators, in overcoming what for them were insignificant security obstacles, were able to enter the buildings rather easily. They often used very simple means. The doors in the burglarized church, most often made of wood, had regular locks with no additional safety locks that could make entrance more difficult for criminals.

"It was also determined that in many cases antique articles were not protected from theft at all and were most often found in easily accessible places. Undoubtedly this was a temptation to perpetrators. In the case of court proceedings, for example, defendants explained that in deciding to commit a burglary, they knew about a church's lack of proper security and the great value of the articles they intended to steal."

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POLITICS

POLAND

BRIEFS

RUSSIAN ORTHODOX CHURCH VISIT--The presidium of the Polish Ecumenical Council has conferred in Warsaw. Discussed was the whole of ecumenical work in the context of the coming general assembly of the council planned for the fall of this year. Conferees became acquainted with the course of events for the week of prayer for the unity of Christians and with the results of the first meeting of the joint committee of the Polish Ecumenical Council and Russian Orthodox Church. It was determined that this summer a delegation from Christian churches of the USSR will come to Poland for a return visit at the council's invitation. It was decided that the 40th anniversary of the establishment of the council would be commemorated with the official fall ecumenical session this year. The presidium ratified the council's budget for 1986. Bishop Janusz Narzynski, council president, chaired the proceedings. [Text] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 18 March 86 p 2] 12776

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POLITICAL

ROMANIA

# POSSIBILITIES FOR EXPANDING COOPERATION WITH FRG

Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 29 Apr 86 p 6

[Crina Sirbu travel notes from the RFG: "Great Possibilities for Expanding the Romanian-FRG Cooperation"]

[Text] The distance between Cologne and Bonn is very short, so you do not have time to gather your wits about you and to reflect whether your memory has faithfully recorded the impression of God's uninterrupted verticality created by the German Gothic art which in Cologne tends to dominate the entire city, sublimating it in its structures and seemingly transforming everything else into an adjacent image, an image that deprives of spectacularity even the surrounding commercial area, with its multicolored shop windows and packed with people even on this bright, but unusually cold Sunday morning. Leaving behind God, whose overwhelming house no longer betrays any of the damage caused by World War II bombings, and leaving behind Cologne, whose utterly modern ambiance nevertheless retains something of the Hanseatic soul, the road leisurely snakes along to Bonn, which you can reach in less than 1/2 hour--on the train. You are plunged rather abruptly into another dimension and an atmosphere of apparent provincial week-end calm that brings only few passers-by on streets with greening, very young trees, along rows of houses which, elegantly aligned, reflect the preservation of urban traditions. Only the pigeons are still present in large numbers at this twilight hour and gently invade with romantic sounds the squares around which the city gathers obediently, or the banks of the old river where, like so many other before you, you have the sensation that Lorelei is not far away...

The next day the rain falls stubbornly over the federal capital. But the grey sky does not make it look nostalgic. On the contrary, the city has regained its weekday alertness. Do you like Bonn? tourist posters ask rhetorically, and add: whatever the answer, no one can contest that today it is the most representative center of West German policy, of contacts, and of international consultations. Indeed, in Bonn the first such suggestion is intimated by the governmental buildings, the creation of the past decades, which house the offices of the federal chancellery, the Bundestag, and diplomatic missions. All together--contrasting with but not effacing the specific styles of the previous centuries--they have introduced an element of contemporary architecture into the city. And not only that. Beyond the visual note, they stand for intensive and concentrated activities dealing with the important



issues of the country and of international life. These issues also made the topics of some of the meetings that marked this encounter with West German realities--precisely and efficiently organized by Inter Naciones--and possibilities of penetrating on the spot a large area of interests.

We cross Adenauerallee--a good opportunity to note at the Foreign Ministry views concerning the hosts' attitude toward international developments, recent events, and the chances that should be given to disarmament, European security, and peaceful coexistence. In this framework, stressing that Federal Germany, like Romania, is in favor of the broadest possible international cooperation, many remarks were from the very start intended to highlight the undisputable interest existing at bilateral level for expanding and developing the Romanian-West German relations, and the appreciation enjoyed by our country's attitude and policy aimed at understanding and peace.

Naturally, in the spirit of a continuing rapprochement, direct contacts provide the most fertile grounds. Thus, recalling the contribution of the Romanian-West German summit dialogue and along this line, of President Nicolae Ceausescu's visit to the FRG in 1984, a Foreign Ministry representative noted, in the light of the agreements concluded, the results attained in developing this cooperation--Federal Germany is one of Romania's main economic partners in the West--as well as prospects for expanding these ties in many areas. We intend--the representative stressed--to implement the ideas formulated and to pay particular attention to economic relations. Generally speaking, we may say that we are all neighbors in Europe and moreover, that our countries are tied by old relations. And now, our two countries, which are modernizing their means of communication to raise them to the level of the century--Romania has opened the Danube-Black Sea canal and we are building a canal between the Rhein and Danube, to be completed by the beginning of the 1990'ies--are in a position to identify further domains of cooperation. As an additional proof of the two countries' joint desire to expand the realm of their cooperation, mention was made of the talks conducted this month in Bonn by the Romanian foreign minister, talks that were received here with real and great interest. All the more so, the Foreign Ministry representative continued, as we value Romania's view of the international situation, the major contemporary problems, hotbeds of tension, and crisis areas, whereby an important factor is the position adopted by Romania on various occasions at the United Nations, where its vote has resolutely and boldly expressed clear options.

Perusing my notes of that meeting, I spot the remark that Romania and the FRG, by virtue of certain common viewpoints, have cooperated and can further cooperate to improve the international climate, as well as to preserve and promote European cultural traditions. It is believed in Bonn that there are still "shortfalls" in the implementation of the Helsinki final act--in the area of military measures, economic and cultural cooperation, and so forth--and that the two countries can contribute to achieving steps forward along this line within the framework of their consultations and cooperation. In the same connection I want to emphasize another statement made by the same representative: We believe that at this point in international life people must meet and must intensify their efforts to devise new solutions in line with the difficulty of the problems facing the contemporary world. Romania has a long tradition of such intensive activities. Like us, Romania loyally

respects its alliances. At the same time, it also acts in the spirit of national interests and national independence, a position that allows it to seek new possibilities of expanding cooperation with all the countries, including the FRG, and that is viewed here with great interest.

The same interest in continuously developing the Romanian-West German relations was expressed during meetings, solicitously arranged despite the hosts' busy schedule, with other FRG public figures. Thus, at the Christian-Democratic Union, Bundestag member Dr H.G. Huesch expressed the view that, in accordance with the balanced policy that the FRG seeks in its international relations and with the need to expand East-West cooperation--see, for example, the fruitful cooperation between the FRG and the USSR--additional ways of promoting rapprochement and detente must be investigated. "We have had 40 years of peace in Europe, the longer peaceful period in this century," Dr. Huesch said, "and I believe that the new interstate agreements offer a great chance. And I view as positive the fact that we have good relations with your country."

Like other of his countrymen, Dr Huesch knows Romania well. "I have been there dozens of times and I am scheduled to go again in May. These frequent visits reflect our interest in your country and our party's interest in relations with Romania. Personally, I have not had the honor of meeting with President Nicolae Ceausescu, but I read his speeches and his reports to the party congresses. I believe that our countries share many points of contact; that both Romania's president and the FRG government have asserted initiatives on international problems essentially based on the same idea. I think," Dr Huesch concluded, "that there exist great possibilities for expanding the cooperation between Romania and the FRG in all the areas."

Together with this remark, the FRG deputy, like others we talked to--at the federal government press and information office, for example, or colleagues in the media--emphasized favorable factors such as common cultural traditions, the existence of a German speaking community in Romania, the economic potential of the two countries, and a similar logic in the approach to certain European and international events. Thus, as I noted in Bonn, in this representative center of West German policy, the rich material and cultural resources available and political realism appear as powerful factors for promoting cooperation in the interests of mutual advantage, friendship, and coexistence in a world of peace.

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